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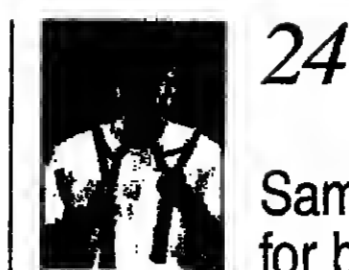
VOLUME LXV, NUMBER 19787
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1997 • HESHVAN 28, 5758 • 28 RAJAB 1418
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Iraqi opposition: Saddam bugging inspectors

By JAY BUSHINSKY
Iraqi President Saddam Hussein is the UN arms inspectors' proverbial Big Brother, said Ahmad Alawi, head of a broadcasting station based in northern Iraq.

Baghdad regime under the aegis of the Iraqi National Congress, Alawi said that Saddam's "mukhabarat" (intelligence) apparatus has concealed microphones in the rooms and offices used by UNSCOM (UN Special Commission) personnel at the Kanat a-Jeish military camp in Baghdad.

Bugging equipment also has been installed in the inspectors' private and professional gear. The Kanat a-Jeish camp serves as UNSCOM's headquarters as well as its living quarters.

Allawi gleaned his information from fellow Iraqis who fled to the UN-controlled sector of northern Iraq as well as from "certain officials inside the Saddam's regime" with whom he is in secret contact.

"Besides my broadcasting work, I also am assigned to welcoming and debriefing defectors," he went on. "Iraq has many security systems," Alawi said. "Each one of them does its own job of spying on UNSCOM." He said the data picked up at UNSCOM headquarters is transmitted to nearby A-Rashid camp.

The unit of Iraq's mukhabarat that regularly spies on UNSCOM was identified by Alawi as "Office 28." It is one of the intelligence apparatus 32 offices, he added, and is headed by Col. Abdel Khalifa al Duleimi.

"Office 28 employs 120 persons, most of whom are disguised as drivers or other ordinary-looking people. They accompany UNSCOM staffers from the moment they leave their base until they return. Therefore, they know every move UNSCOM makes."

Another technique used by Saddam to foil UNSCOM's inspections is to station his Special Republican Guards outside all his palaces and military facilities. These units normally provide security to the Iraqi military establishment. But in UNSCOM's case, their personnel can and do delay the entry of arms inspectors until orders are received from within that the site is clear.

Bassiouny: Azzam was a courier for Israeli women spies

By JAY BUSHINSKY
Azzam Azzam, the Israeli textile engineer imprisoned in Egypt as a spy, was duped into acting as a courier for an espionage ring that included an Egyptian national and two Israeli women, Egyptian Ambassador Mohammed Bassiouny told The Jerusalem Post.

The Egyptian diplomat stopped short of describing Azzam as a spy, contending that his conviction largely was due to his having "lied" to a Cairo court, and to a videotape and tape recording of his contacts with the individuals then under surveillance.

Azzam, 35, from the Galilee town of Maghar, was working in an Israeli-owned textile plant in the Egyptian capital when he was taken into custody and charged with espionage, along with Emad Abdel Hamid Ismail, an Egyptian national.

The indictment said Azzam confessed to receiving underwear soaked in invisible ink from Zahra Youssef Jreis and Mona Ahmed Shawahna, both residents of Nazareth. They were tried in absentia.

"Azzam may not have known exactly what he was carrying when he was arrested," Bassiouny said in an interview. "He was tricked by the two Israeli women from Nazareth who were in touch with an Egyptian spy for Israel."



Keffiyeh redux
A poster depicting Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu in a keffiyeh, seen hanging in Jerusalem yesterday. The right-wing Ideological Front claimed responsibility for the posters, which were hung throughout the capital, saying they constitute 'legitimate democratic criticism.' Story, Page 2.

Shahak backs Levine

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN
Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak came out in full support of OC Northern Command Maj.-Gen. Amiram Levine yesterday, accepting his explanation that his call for a unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon was taken out of context.

"I don't have any problem with Maj.-Gen. Levine," Shahak said. "I have a problem with the use of military people and opinions they express in closed military forums." Shahak summoned military reporters to his office to express displeasure over the media's handling of internal differences of opinion among the army's top brass.

Neeman asks Reform: Accept Orthodox conversion

By HERB KEINON
Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman, head of the government committee trying to put together a compromise on the Reform and Conservative conversion issue, called on the Reform movement last night to accept the halachic guidelines for conversion for the sake of national unity.

"On issues of personal status it is forbidden to divide the nation," said Neeman, speaking at the opening session of the biannual convention of the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism, held in Jerusalem. "It is inconceivable that on matters of personal status there will be a split. The State of Israel needs one criterion that will be accepted by everyone. If not, my children will not be able to marry yours, and a situation will develop where there will be separate communities with separate membership cards."

Netanyahu draws outline for final-status map

PM: No state for Palestinians

By JAY BUSHINSKY
Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu drew a new map of Israel and the adjacent Palestinian territory yesterday that keeps the Jordan Valley, Ezion Bloc, and other "security zones" under Israeli sovereignty. According to the plan, Israel also would control

need for Israeli control of Gaza's coastline. In addition to reetotioo of Jerusalem within its enlarged municipal boundaries and the Etzion Bloc of settlements, the prime minister also advocated a narrow "security zone" east of the Green Line.

"Most of the security zones have few Arab inhabitants," he said. Netanyahu opposed Palestinian statchood, warning that Israel will take swift counter-measures if the PA declares an independent and

fully sovereign state. On the other hand, he said the Palestinians should be allowed to "manage their own lives," describing this as a "functional division of authority." Overall security would remain exclusively in Israeli hands, he went on. However, issues that concern both Israel and the PA, such as the environment and water resources, should continue to be dealt with jointly.

Proposal draws mixed Palestinian response, Page 2
Norwegian FM shuttles between PM, Arafat, Page 3

the Gaza Strip coastline. This is the territorial formula he intends to offer the Palestinian Authority in the final-status talks that he believes should start immediately and replace the interim stage of the peace process.

Netanyahu presented his territorial proposals at an Editors' Committee luncheon to mark the 50th anniversary of the United Nations General Assembly's vote in favor of the partition of Palestine for the establishment of Jewish and Arab states.

"The Jordan Valley's role is to serve as a buffer against a military attack from the east," Netanyahu said. He contended that Israel also must maintain a line of defense along its western flank. Hence the

Mordechai: Ties with US must improve

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN
In his first public reference to the current tensions between Washington and Jerusalem, Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said yesterday that Israel and the US must improve their relations. "We must do everything to anchor and strengthen relations with the United States. There can be differences of opinion, just like there are in families, but this is a very important component for security," Mordechai said.

Speaking at a conference on Israel's national security doctrine at Bar-Ilan University, Mordechai also said it was vital to Israel's security to progress in the peace process with the Palestinians and to renew the dialogue with the Syrians.

Mordechai said that a national security council, which Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu wanted to set up, was superfluous and would only make the decision making process more cumbersome. The inner cabinet serves this purpose, he said.

Likud probe panel resigns

By SARAH HONIG
No sooner had the Likud inquiry committee convened for a first session yesterday afternoon than it disbanded. All the members resigned after Science Minister Michael Eitan quit in a huff. In an allusion to Moshe Leon, Avigdor Lieberman's successor as director-general of the Prime Minister's Office,

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# IDF colonel wounded in zone

By DAVID RUDGE

A senior IDF officer was lightly wounded in an apparent ambush by Hizbullah gunmen near a South Lebanese Army outpost in the northeastern sector of the security zone yesterday afternoon.

Col. Yair was hit by bullets in one arm and in the leg by shrapnel from mortar rounds. He was treated in the field and evacuated by helicopter to Haifa's Rambam Hospital more than two hours later.

Dr. Zvi Ben-Isai, deputy director of the hospital, said the officer was suffering from a fractured arm, close to the elbow, caused by bullet wounds. "He also has light injuries to his legs, from frag-

ments, which are relatively superficial," said Ben-Isai.

He said the wounded officer had undergone an operation for his injuries and was then transferred to the hospital's surgical ward. He was reported in satisfactory condition.

The incident occurred near the SLA's Soujoud outpost, while Col. Yair and his troops were either en route to or leaving the position. It appears from the reports that the troops were on foot when they suddenly came under fire from close range from Hizbullah gunmen in the area.

Almost simultaneously Hizbullah mortar crews began firing rounds at the same area, apparently to give the squad on the

ground the chance to retreat.

According to the reports, Col. Yair was hit in the first burst of fire. The soldiers with him returned fire, although the gunmen apparently managed to escape unharmed.

The mortar barrage continued, pinning the unit led by Col. Yair to the ground. IDF gunners returned fire and later IAF warplanes went into action.

The IDF Spokesman said the planes attacked terrorist targets in the Jabal Soujoud region. The pilots reported accurate hits and all planes returned safely.

Northern Command is to investigate the circumstances surrounding the incident, including the possibility that gunmen knew of Col.

Yair's movements beforehand and planned the ambush accordingly.

The question of whether it was necessary for such a high-ranking officer to be moving around in an area where Hizbullah gunmen are known to operate is also expected to come under scrutiny.

Meanwhile, the Grapes of Wrath monitoring group yesterday completed its deliberations into complaints by Israel over the shelling of Beit Leif village, inside the security zone, on Sunday in which eight residents were killed and several others wounded.

The five-nation committee set up to supervise the Grapes of Wrath understandings condemned those responsible for the shelling. Israel's representative to the

monitoring group submitted fragments of a mortar round which hit the village. Writing on it showed that it was made by Iran's military industries.

The committee accepted Israel's claim that Katyusha rocket fire on Western Galilee on the same day as the Beit Leif shelling constituted a breach of the understandings.

The Lebanese delegation confirmed its commitment to the clause in the understandings which ban attacks from Lebanon on Israeli territory.

The monitoring group called on the relevant authorities to take all necessary steps to prevent any such breaches of the understandings in the future.



Norwegian Foreign Minister Knut Vollebaek (left) shares a joke with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu yesterday during their meeting in Tel Aviv. (Reuters)

## Norwegian FM launches shuttle between Arafat, PM

By JAY BUSHINSKY and news agencies

Norway's foreign minister Knut Vollebaek undertook an impromptu round of shuttle diplomacy yesterday, relaying the gist of his discussions with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Foreign Minister David Levy in Jerusalem to Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat in Ramallah.

The Norwegian diplomat had conferred on Tuesday with Arafat on prospects to advance the peace process and informed the prime minister of this conversation.

In turn, Netanyahu briefed Vollebaek on the political steps Israel is taking in an effort to advance the Middle East peace process, a communique issued by the prime minister's bureau said.

Foreign Minister David Levy also discussed this initiative with him.

Vollebaek said that in spite of the difficulties the Oslo agreements still constitute "a very good basis for the peace process."

Vollebaek said yesterday he

hopes Israel and the Palestinians will extend the mandate of the 22 Norwegian observers in Hebron.

During his visit, Vollebaek said the observers are doing "a very good job" in reducing tension between the Jewish settlers in Hebron and the tens of thousands of Palestinians surrounding them.

"I think it's very important to have them there for the stability," Vollebaek told reporters after a meeting with Levy. The observers have been in Hebron since May 1996. Their present mandate runs out at the end of January.

The settlers have expressed hostility to the observers, whom they perceive as biased in favor of the Palestinians. The Palestinians have complained that the unarmed observers cannot protect them against harassment by the settlers.

Levy refused to say whether Israel would comply with a reported request from Norway to be allowed to interrogate a former Israeli intelligence officer in connection with a botched Mossad operation in Norway 24 years ago.

## Border towns demand gov't clarify stance on Lebanon

By DAVID RUDGE

The chairman of the forum of heads of border line communities Shlomo Bubbut yesterday called on the government to clearly state its policies regarding the security zone.

"The government is allowing this debate, which has spilled over into the media, to continue without taking any decisions," said Bubbut, who is also mayor of Ma'alot-Tarshiha.

"What's happening today is harming the morale of the soldiers and that of residents in the confrontation line region. There's a feeling that we are being bought and sold," he said.

"I expect the government to take decisions and adhere to them - not like what happened on Sunday when Katyusha rockets hit Western Galilee and the IDF decided not to respond in order not to annoy Hizbullah."

"I think that this was a mistake because Hizbullah and [Lebanese Prime Minister] Rafik Hariri should know that residents in the north are not hostages. They should know that if Katyushas or shells fall here they will get it back sevenfold."

"I agree with the defense minister who says that as long as there is no political solution and there is nobody to talk with there [in Lebanon] we cannot withdraw.



Lebanese holding pictures of their relatives demonstrate in front of the Nakoura United Nations offices this week, to protest the killing of civilians in military actions. On Sunday, eight people were killed in the village of Beit Leif by Hizbullah and Amal soldiers. (Reuters)

"If, however, a decision were to be taken to withdraw the government would have to make it clear to the Lebanese government that we only recognize it and not Hizbullah and that we would respond severely for any Katyusha rocket attack, infiltration or shooting across the border into Israeli territory.

"If this were to happen, it would be tantamount to a declaration of war and Beirut would suffer in consequence. If there were to be an unilateral withdrawal without first solving these problems, we along the confrontation line would be in trouble."

"In the meantime, I don't see any solution to the problem other than for the IDF, backed by the SLA, to remain in south Lebanon and respond more forcefully than at present, without showing any weakness," he added.

# Politicians debate Lebanon - and the debate about Lebanon

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

Cabinet ministers and opposition leaders continued to debate a unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon, following reports that OC Northern Command Maj.-Gen. Levine had advocated such a withdrawal, reports that Levine denied Wednesday night.

But the debate itself was also a subject for debate. Agriculture Minister Rafael Eitan said a public debate on this issue "is good only for the enemy and is bad for the morale. It is harmful to the IDF and the state. Some things should be debated in an appropriate and quiet in the appropriate forums and not in public."

"These leaks are a national disaster. If we don't put a stop to them we're helping the enemy, and for what? For one moment of publicity?"

Eitan said Levine "had better leave the talking to the politicians. Officers shouldn't talk and then justify themselves. When I was chief of staff I took measures against officers who sounded off."

But Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said he is in favor of a debate regarding Israel's remaining in Lebanon, stressing it is the right and duty of army commanders to make their professional opinions known. However, he added, they must do so within the military framework, as Levine indeed did.

Mordechai stressed that the IDF carries out missions according to instructions from the political leaders.

Internal Security Minister

Avigdor Kahalani called for "gradual withdrawal" from Lebanon without waiting for a peace agreement with Syria.

"As one who fought there and knows the area well, I ask myself if staying in Lebanon is doing anything to protect the state. I don't believe it does," Kahalani said.

He noted "we must find a way to withdraw gradually, and place a multi-national force there. Today people link the withdrawal to [a settlement on] the Golan, saying if we give it back, we'll get quiet in Lebanon. But Syria is using the Lebanese section to harm Israel. If we withdraw, it will take away Syria's excuse to attack us."

National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon denied he had spoken in favor of withdrawing unilaterally from Lebanon, noting that even in peace, Israel must maintain control of its defense.

"One principle remains constant, even if we achieve peace: The security of the Jews and their defense in the Jewish state must be kept only in our hands," Sharon said.

Labor Party leader Ehud Barak said there is no cause to fire Levine, stating that the freedom of debate within the IDF is vital, including a debate on remaining in Lebanon.

"From what I understand," Barak said, "Levine stated again that he does not advocate unilateral withdrawal without an agreement and I agree with him."

Former deputy defense minister General Ori Orr (Labor) said the

public debate is legitimate in a democracy and strengthens the soldiers' motivation to serve in Lebanon. He opposes a unilateral withdrawal.

"At present there is no opening for a settlement in Lebanon, because Syria hasn't changed its position, the Beirut government is not in control of the south and the Hizbullah continues to act there," he said.

Meretz was divided in its

views. MK Dedi Zucker urged Israel to take control of the situation in Lebanon by initiating a unilateral withdrawal, after the IDF presents a plan to protect the northern settlements. "A gradual withdrawal will necessitate a movement of international forces - including Syria and Lebanon, who would not be interested in leaving a vacuum there," he said.

However, Meretz chairman MK Yossi Sarid strongly object-

ed to a withdrawal, saying it would "erode the security zone and bring the Hizbullah 50 to 100 meters from the northern settlements. It will require every bus moving in the north and every

farmer tilling his field to have permanent security protection, and all this only until the first shot is fired. Then Israel will have to take Lebanon again and suffer casualties, both civilian

and military.

"Sharon and Kahalani don't want to pay for stability with the Golan, so the soldiers in Lebanon are paying the price for them - we all are, every day."

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Our Greatest Danger - Signed Undertakings of the United States

- In 1967, the agreement between President Johnson and Israel on keeping the Straits of Tiran open, was broken by the United States. The Six Days War was the direct outcome.
- In 1970, during the War of Attrition, Israel agreed to a cease-fire on condition - it was endorsed by the US - that Egyptian SAM (surface-to-air) missiles would not be moved forward to the Suaz Canal. They were moved forward very soon thereafter without any reaction on the part of the US. That breach cost the lives of many of our pilots in the Yom Kippur War.
- In 1975, Israel gave up the strategic Mitla and Gidi Passes, and the Abu Rodess oil fields in Sinai, in return for US signed undertakings
  - to supply F 15 planes exclusively to Israel
  - not to negotiate with the PLO without Israel's consent
  - not to provide Saudia with AWAC spy planes.

In 1978, President Carter reneged on all these commitments, and subsequently President Reagan gave Saudia the AWACS (despite Senate opposition).

The reason given for these broken promises was: "Conditions have changed".

Surely, Arafat's contempt for his explicit obligations - to revoke the Palestinian Covenant, to extradite the Arab murderers, and numerous other undertakings - is enough of a "changed condition" to justify our annulling the Oslo Accord.

The pledge of the United States to provide us with arms was broken just when we needed them most. An embargo was placed on Israel

- in 1948, during the War of Independence and
- in 1973, during the Yom Kippur War.

And in 1981, when Israel bombed the Osirak Nuclear Reactor in Iraq, the United States (and Shimon Peres) deplored the action. During the Gulf War, however, ten years later, Richard Cheney, US Defense Secretary, said: "I thank G-d every day for Israel's courageous action". It was indeed a major factor in the American victory over Saddam Hussein.

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PM taps Leon to replace Lieberman

By JAY BUSHINSKY

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu announced today that he has tapped Leon Lieberman to replace Avigdor Kahalani as director-general of the Prime Minister's Office.

Lieberman's name came to the attention of Netanyahu through a weekly cabinet meeting. The prime minister said Lieberman was his first choice. He was previously served as director of the Prime Minister's Office under Ehud Barak.

The appointment requires approval and will be subject to a weekly cabinet meeting. Lieberman's name was also mentioned in a parallel development commission report on the Hamas' political strategy.

Lieberman, 57, was born in Hebron and served in the Israel Defense Forces. He was previously a member of the Knesset.

Lieberman was named to the position after the resignation of Kahalani. He has been working as a consultant in Washington.

NRP sets or redeployment demands

By SARAH HONIG

The National Religious Party (NRP) has set out its demands for the redeployment of soldiers from the Golan Heights and Lebanon.

The NRP said it would support a gradual withdrawal from Lebanon, but only if it is accompanied by a redeployment of soldiers from the Golan Heights.

The party also demanded that the government should not allow any unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon without a redeployment of soldiers from the Golan Heights.

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The party also demanded that the government should not allow any unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon without a redeployment of soldiers from the Golan Heights.

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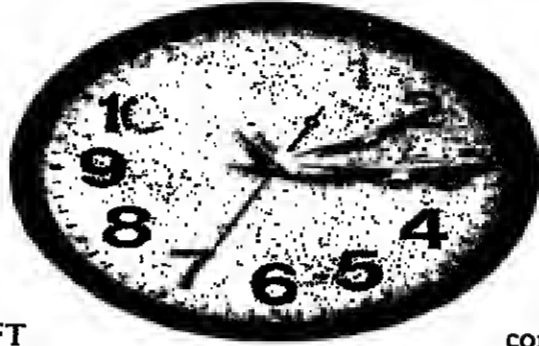
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# The 'credibility gap' cuts both ways

Israel and America face too many important issues to allow personality differences or emotions to determine policies. With the future boundaries of Israel and the possibility of Palestinian state in the balance, and the threats from Iraq and Iran in the background, the leaders of both states need to focus on the substance of the issues.

In 1990 and 1991, the intense personal dislike and emotional conflicts between the Baker-Bush team and Yitzhak Shamir did not serve US or Israel. The lessons of that period should be clear both to Washington and Jerusalem.

Relations between the Netanyahu government and the Clinton administration have never been good. During the 1996 Israeli election campaign, Martin Indyk, who served as US ambassador to Israel, and is now assistant secretary of state, encouraged Clinton to actively support Shimon Peres. Furthermore, American officials have invested a great deal of energy and prestige in the Rabin-Peres conception of the Oslo peace process, and it has always been difficult for them to accept its limitations.

For his part, Netanyahu has done little to change the sense of disappointment in Washington. A series of policy blunders, from the opening of the tunnel in Jerusalem's Old City to Har Homa have shifted the burden of the failure of the peace process to Israel.

Beginning with their first meetings, the prime minister never managed to convince the members of the Clinton administration that the Oslo framework has failed to bring peace to Israelis, and that a radical shift in concept is necessary.

Indeed, in renegotiating the Hebron withdrawal agreement, Netanyahu committed himself to the continuation of the Oslo process, which raised expectations in Washington. But months passed without a significant redeployment. Israel's rejection of the American proposal for a "time out" in settlement construction, increased the disappointment and anger.

In addition, Netanyahu's failure to establish effective leadership in the coalition government or even in his own Likud Party, combined with

GERALD M. STEINBERG

the conflicts with American Jews have reinforced the negative images and made him appear vulnerable to pressure. Netanyahu is seen as unreliable and lacking in credibility.

American officials blame Netanyahu for the stalemate in the peace process, for the official Egyptian and Palestinian boycotts at the Doha economic summit, and for the cold response of the Arab states to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's request for cooperation in dealing with continuing Iraqi threats. The truth is that in each of these cases, the Arab states would have taken the same positions, regardless of the Israeli government's policies, but Netanyahu is an effective scapegoat.

**American expressions of sympathy after every terrorist bombing are no substitute for the security that Israel was promised**

THE Israeli side has its own valid complaints, and the Americans have their own credibility problems. Like the Bush and Baker team, the Clinton team has consistently underestimated the security threats to Israel. American expressions of sympathy after every terrorist bombing are no substitute for the security that Israel was promised but has not received in the "peace" process. In addition, the US government has failed to fulfill its obligations to prevent the proliferation of missiles and weapons of mass destruction: Russia continues to provide Iran with the technology for such weapons, and six years after Israel agreed to act with restraint in the face of Iraqi missile attacks, the US has still not redeemed its pledge to permanently destroy Iraq's ability to attack Israel.

Given the power of the Americans and the overriding importance of

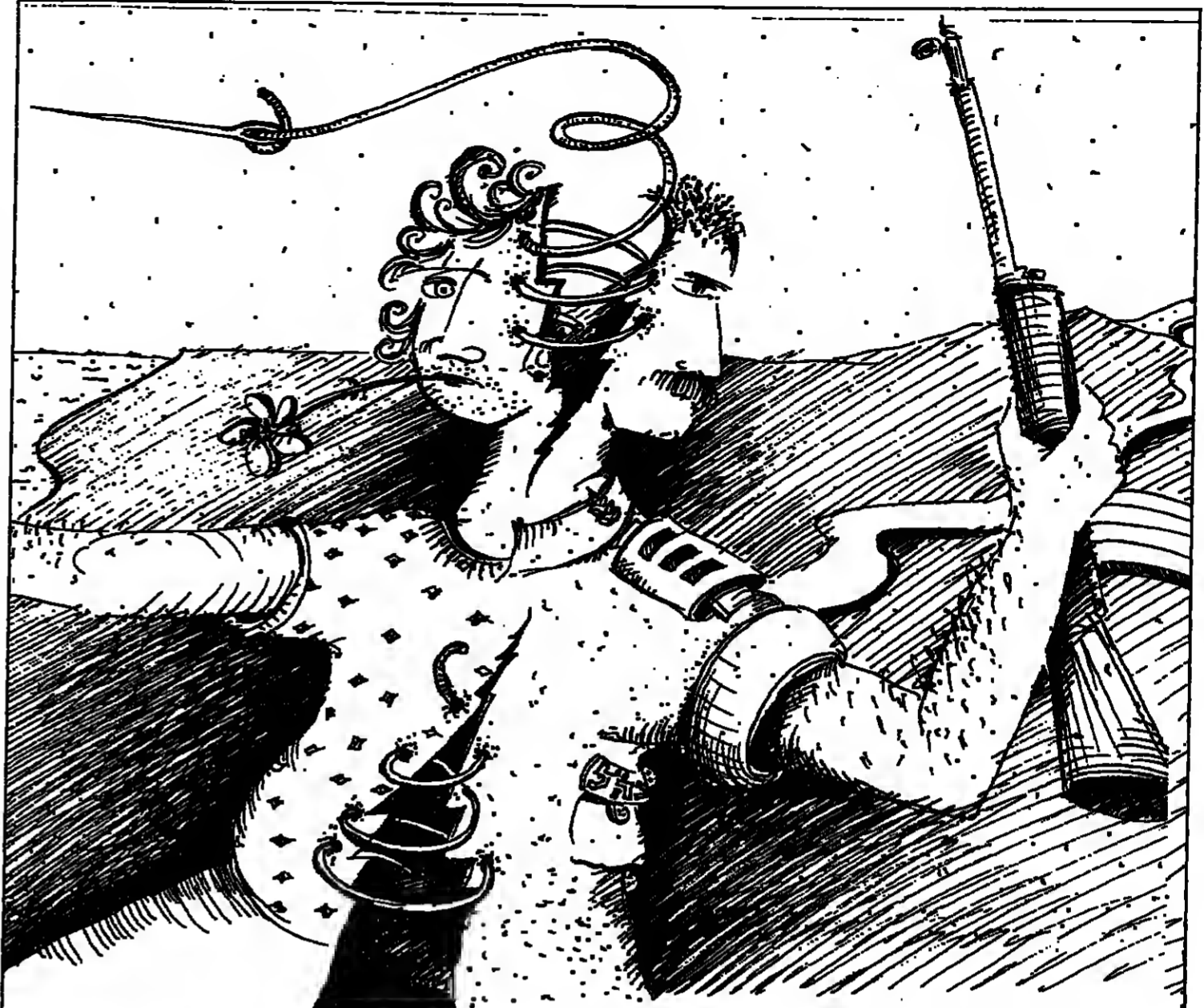
preventing Iraq and Iran from developing, or, in the case of Saddam Hussein, keeping weapons of mass destruction, it is in Israel's vital national interests to repair relations with Washington. Albeit belatedly, Netanyahu now seems to understand this fact. His latest efforts towards implementing another Israeli redeployment, despite opposition in the Likud and the coalition, are aimed primarily at repairing relations with the Clinton administration.

At the same time, the US government ought to undertake a thorough review of its policies with respect to the Palestinian-Israeli peace process and the many areas of instability in the region. Officials whose personal investment and emotional attachments do not allow for an objective appraisal and consideration of alternatives to the Oslo process should be transferred to responsibilities that do not involve the Middle East.

In addition, Clinton and his advisors must recognize the importance Israel attaches to a strong and effective American role in preventing proliferation of missiles and weapons of mass destruction in Iran and Iraq. If the US expects Israel to act with restraint and avoid unilateral actions, then they must assume responsibility for removing these threats. By failing to block the Iranian acquisition of dangerous weapons, and by seeming to back down when Russia and France opposed action to destroy Iraqi biological weapons, the US has not provided the stable security environment in which Israel might be encouraged to take risks in the peace process. This issue is central for all Israelis, and is not dependent on the personality or ideology of the prime minister.

In the face of these threats, the tensions in US-Israeli relations must be repaired quickly. Instead of angry words, demonstrations of pique, and quibbles over White House invitations, officials in Jerusalem and Washington need to restore the high level of policy coordination and consultation that serve the vital interests of both states.

The writer directs the Arms Control Project at the Begin Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar Ilan University.



# An army for the 1990s

STUART A. COHEN

Chief of Staff Amnon Lipkin-Shahak seems to be making a habit of complaining in public about the state of Israeli society. He first did so in October 1996, in a eulogy delivered on the first anniversary of Yitzhak Rabin's assassination, when he launched into what can only be described as an emotionally charged attack on the "hedonism" apparently prevalent amongst large segments of Israel's (Jewish) population.

He harped on a similar theme in May of this year, when he announced that the public was evincing signs of "weariness." And he has now returned to the charge. In an address given at Tel Aviv University's Dayan Center earlier this week, the IDF chief of staff once again berated Israeli society, this time for being "too soft" on draft-dodgers.

At the broadest level of analysis, Shahak's feeling that something fundamental has changed in Israel's domestic environment is of course correct. Our attitudes toward many of the values which once were considered axiomatic are indeed undergoing substantive shifts. Almost as a matter of course, relationships between Israeli citizens and their armed forces have been affected by that process.

Gone, it seems, are the days when the IDF could rely on near-universal domestic veneration. Instead, senior officers now find themselves fighting a rearguard action to maintain their individual and corporate status.

True, according to public opinion surveys, the IDF retains its position as the most respected of all Israeli national institutions. But considering the paucity of alternatives (the Knesset? individual political parties? the chief rabbin? the State Attorney's Office?) that isn't saying very much.

One doesn't have to be a professional sociologist or an informed military expert to notice the extent of the change. We can all compare the amount of critical scrutiny which the media focus on IDF operations with the atmosphere of awed deference which permeated most press references to the military just a couple of decades ago. We are all aware of the far more stringent

status increasingly being adopted by the courts towards military conduct. We are all sensitive to the more intrusive attitude evinced by the contemporary generation of parents, who express increasingly vocal concern about both the conditions and the purposes of their children's military service.

Above all, and like Shahak himself, we have all had to sit up and take note of what the IDF Manpower Branch admits is an incremental decline in motivation to serve in combat units, amongst conscripts and reservists alike.

Shifts of that magnitude cannot be attributed to any single cause. Still less can responsibility for their occurrence be heaped on the shoulders of any single individual, no matter how exalted his or

from inspiring confidence in his qualities of leadership, the tone of his complaints about the condition of Israeli society in fact generates considerable concern. They suggest that their author is not only out of sync with the mood of the country, but also incapable of coming to terms with it.

If this is in fact the case, then the prognosis for us all is very sober indeed. After all, it is the task of leaders, and especially of military commanders - to steer a viable course between the desirable and the attainable. They cannot achieve that goal simply by wistfully recalling the past and berating the inadequacies of the present. Rather, we have every right to expect that they identify - and indicate to us all - how we might best adapt our institutions

move toward a more flexible system of selective military service - based on a framework of more explicit (and far more substantial) material incentives for personnel at all ranks and levels?

To their credit, Shahak's two immediate predecessors, Dan Shomron and Ehud Barak, set the ball rolling in the right direction: the former who publicly advocating the need for a "smaller and smarter" army; the latter when giving the Shafir Commission a comprehensive mandate to investigate future IDF manpower policies.

True, very little came of those initiatives. But they did at least convey the sense that people in positions of responsibility were considering the possibility of structural reforms in our military and - no less important - keeping the Israeli public informed of the general direction of their thinking.

Shahak, by contrast, has allowed the momentum thus generated to wind down. During his tenure, the Shafir report seems to have been buried and the notion of a different, perhaps better, IDF to have been placed in abeyance.

Even if he has taken steps toward some change, as might certainly be the case, the general impression remains "more of the same." Largely as a result, the IDF as a whole has lost the opportunity to convince Israeli citizens that they are being consulted on an issue of supreme importance to us all.

A short while ago, the cabinet decided to extend Shahak's term of office (originally due to end on January 1, 1998) by seven months. Consequently, he will still be chief of staff come next May, when Israel celebrates its fiftieth birthday. Doubtless, Shahak will be called upon to make another speech to mark the occasion. Is it too late to hope that this time he will seize the opportunity to make a more constructive contribution toward mending at least some of the bridges between the IDF and Israeli society at large?

The writer is professor of political studies at Bar-Ilan University, and a senior fellow of the BESA Center for Strategic Studies.

# The need to apologize

Ehud Barak's recent apology for "the pain and suffering" caused immigrants from Arab lands by the Labor party in the '50s ignored one critical issue: What exactly was he apologizing for?

Some critics have focused on Barak's transparent political motivation for the "apology." Others have denied that there is anything for which to apologize. If the refugees were housed in tin shacks, they maintain, it was only because the country was too impoverished to do any more.

The debate is thus reduced to one over the quality of the accommodations provided the new immigrants. Ignored is the real sin of those years and beyond: The systematic attempt to destroy the religious beliefs of the newcomers to Israel.

In this respect, at least, there was no discrimination between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. The ruling Zionist elite was equally eager to destroy the religiosity of Ashkenazim when the opportunity presented itself, as it did with the 1,000 Polish orphans who gathered in Teheran between 1939 and 1942.

Over 80 percent of these children came from religious homes. In Teheran, the children were prevented from saying Kaddish for their parents and punished when they persisted. Refugee rabbis in Teheran were denied access to the children. The Jewish Agency informed the Polish government-in-exile, which was paying for the camp in Teheran, that it would forgo all funding if the Polish government insisted that the children be provided with religious instruction.

When the head of the camp, a member of Hashomer Hatzza'ir, was told that the children were refusing to eat non-kosher food, he replied, "Let one or two die of starvation, and they will soon forget about kosher food."

Once in Israel, few children were placed in religious institutions, despite the promise of Youth Aliya head, Henrietta Szold that placement would be in accord with family background.

Agudat Israel, the party to which the parents of over 60 percent of the children had belonged in Poland, prepared hundreds of places for them in Israel. Yet only 30 out of 1,000 children were placed in Agudat institutions. In one camp, Szold herself did the selection. Though 21 of the 29 children had learned in *hadarim* or Bais-Yakov schools, not one was placed in an Agudat institution.

THE "soul-snatching" of the Children of Teheran, in the words of a contemporary columnist in *Ha'arets*, was thus a prelude to the deliberate efforts to extirpate

JONATHAN ROSENBLUM

Judaism from the younger generation of immigrants from Arab lands.

A government commission established in the '50s to study the absorption of the Yemenite community found that the prime objective of the government's absorption policy was "adaptation of the child to the mode of living expressed in the community at large," a euphemism for erasing their religious identity.

That same commission found that the shaving of sidelocks, an important symbol of religious identity for Yemenite Jews, was a "methodical practice." So too, the commission found, was "the disturbance of traditional religious study." The tents for prayer were locked to keep children from gathering for religious instruction and holy books removed and strewn on the ground.

Yemenite teachers were forbidden to teach the children. Anyone religious was barred from the refugee camps. When the Yemenite Jews protested this policy in the Ein Shemer camp, one was shot dead by the authorities.

**The thread running through all Israeli absorption efforts is the arrogant contempt for Jewish religion**

The children were forced to live apart from their families in central children's houses, where the guides told them "Shabbat does not exist in Eretz Yisrael" and took them on Shabbat hikes, during which they were encouraged to pick oranges in imitation of their counselors.

Parents who wanted to send their children to religious schools were threatened with eviction from their homes and the loss of their Hisdadrut work permits - a virtual sentence of starvation in those days.

All this was possible because the Yemenite Jews were subhuman primitives in the eyes of those charged with their absorption. Their fervent religious belief was simply one more proof. The absorption authorities considered it an act of mercy to remove the children from their parents.

A Mrs. Tanani told a *Ma'ariv* reporter of approaching the hospital bed of her child one day and finding two women arguing over finding two women arguing over who would get him. She overheard the nurse say, "What does it matter? They have such big

families anyway."

The next day she was told the boy had died.

When a government inquiry was set up to investigate charges that Yemenite children had been kidnapped, 342 complaints were filed by parents who were told that their children needed hospitalization, and never saw them again. In many cases, the parents were never even informed of the "deaths" of their children, and when they inquired, they were told that they had been already buried, often in unmarked graves.

The story of the kidnappings will not die in the Yemenite community because every family has such a story. One man with whom I pray told me how his mother found him as a toddler being herded onto a Jewish Agency plane from Aden. Later he was removed from the children's house in Rosh Ha'ayin, without his parents' knowledge. It took them two years before they found him on a secular kibbutz and reclaimed him.

The focus of the North African aliyah, too, was on separating children from parents. Parents were encouraged to send their children alone, and those who refused remained stranded in transit camps for much longer periods.

To encourage parents to allow their children to go alone, Youth Aliya promised that they would be placed in religious institutions. Most were sent instead to secular kibbutzim.

A 1956 counselor's manual from one such kibbutz emphasizes that the children are to be taught that "belief in God is a reactionary doctrine that has no place among mankind's progressive fighters."

THE bright thread running through all Israeli absorption efforts is the arrogant contempt for Jewish religion. Those who complain loudest of religious coercion today were themselves perpetrators of deliberate and systematic coercion of hundreds of thousands of children to shed their religious upbringing.

Yet rather than apologizing, the perpetrators continue to boast of it. After Operation Solomon, Jerusalem's *Kol Ha'ir* wrote: "So it was with the Jews of Yemen, so too with those of North Africa. So that the young at least would have some chance, the tradition had to be destroyed, the family had to be destroyed... Better the salvation of the young so that at least they can integrate."

It is that paternalistic contempt for our own religion for which Ehud Barak should be apologizing.

The writer is a Jerusalem Post columnist.

**The tone of Shahak's complaints about the condition of Israeli society generates considerable concern. They suggest Shahak is not only out of sync with the mood of the country, but also incapable of coming to terms with it**

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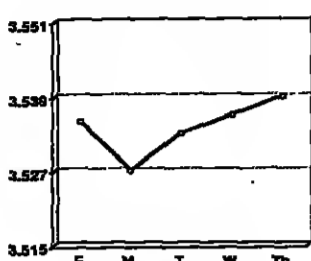
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e-mail: edu@yad-vashem.org.il

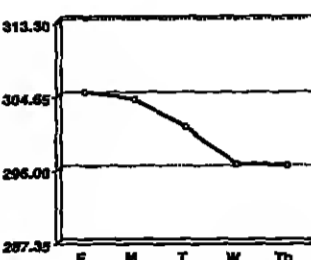
## MARKETS

in brief

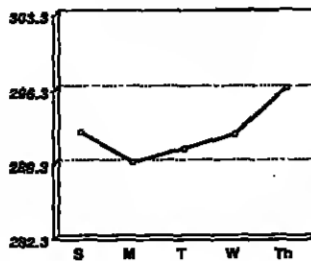
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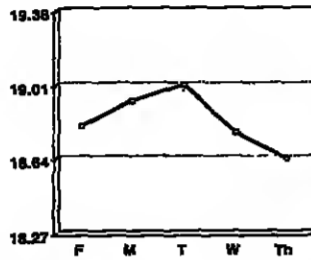
GOLD  
\$ per ounce



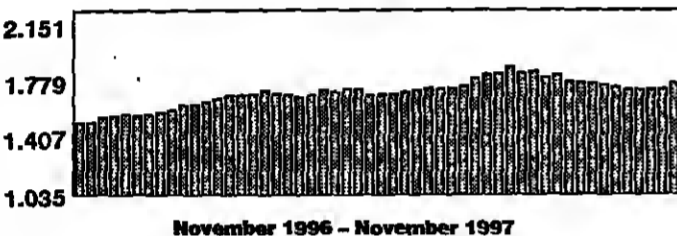
MAOF INDEX



OIL  
\$ per barrel of Brent crude



DOLLAR / DEUTSCHEMARK



DOW JONES INDUST. AVG.



### Siemens, Waxton pay \$75m. for RADNet

Tel Aviv-based RADNet, which developed a multiplexer in ATM technology (fast communication protocol), has been sold to the German communications concern Siemens, and Canadian company, Waxton, for \$75 million.

Waxton and Siemens are potential RADNet customers, which has not yet started to sell its products. *Globes*

### Radisson free flight deal

To celebrate Israel's 50th anniversary, Radisson Moriah hotels yesterday announced it will offer free flights for anyone traveling from Europe that stays in any three of the company's hotels here for a minimum 12 nights. The offer is in effect from March 1 to November 15 of next year. *David Harris*

### Africa Israel pays NIS 7.1m. for 80% of Gottex

Africa Israel Investments announced yesterday the signing of an agreement to purchase 80 percent of the swimsuit maker Gottex for NIS 7.1 million. The other 20% will remain in the hands of the company's founder, Leah Gottlieb, who will continue to control the design of Gottex's products. *Dan Gerstenfeld*

## July-Sept. housing starts plunge 23%

By DAVID HARRIS

Housing start-ups shrank 23 percent in the third quarter to 11,180, compared to the same period last year, with the majority of the slump registered in the public sector, according to figures published yesterday by the Central Bureau of Statistics.

The July to September figures point to a quicker slowdown in the construction industry. In the public sector there were 3,530 start-ups, down from 5,900 (-40%) in the same period last year and 7,650 in the private sector, a fall of 1,020 (12%) on the third quarter of 1996.

The data for the first nine months of the

year show an overall 12% decline to 34,550 in comparison to the total for the equivalent period last year and a 33% fall on the 1995 number. In the public sector there was a 15% decline to 11,870 and a 10% fall in the private sector to 22,680.

These figures, coupled with the forecasts for economic recovery by late 1998 or early 1999 means house prices will begin rising once again in some 12 months, according to Anglo Saxon Real Estate agency managing director Meir Nachshon.

"I don't know whether to be happy or sad when I tell you that our predictions for 1996 and 1997 were correct so I expect we'll be right next year, too," said

Nachshon.

The government's stated aim is to construct and market 50,000 new homes each year. At the end of July, Israel Lands Administration Director General Bertie Brudo said building sales would be down as much as 20,000 on the 50,000 target. However, this week he said that in recent days there has been a considerable increase in the number of sales of land for construction and added that he believes the shortfall in land sales will only be minimal.

Given the 50,000 targets for land sales and construction, Nachshon maintained there will be a shortfall this year of 5,000 to 6,000. It is also true to say that demand is

down to some 45,000 this year, said Nachshon. Looking ahead to 1998, he predicted a similar decline in housing start-ups to that seen this year, meaning only 35,000 to 40,000 will begin. "That leads to a shortfall of at least 5,000," said Nachshon.

In the bureau statistics there was good news on the housing completions front, with 15,230 buildings being constructed in the third quarter, the highest quarterly figure for five years. Throughout the year there has been an increase in the number of completions, up 24% in the first nine months. This is largely because of the high number of start-ups during 1994 and 1995, according to the bureau.



### Lowering prices

A Russian sales assistant changes the price tag for vodka in a supermarket in line with plans to change the denomination of the ruble. Starting January 1, three zeroes will be knocked off the face value of the ruble. *(Reuters)*

## Bank Leumi's 3rd quarter net rises 8.4%

Bank Leumi, the country's second largest bank, reported yesterday that third-quarter net profit rose 8.4 percent to NIS 201.9 million from NIS 186.2m. in the same period last year.

During the first nine months of 1997 net profit surged 138.6% to NIS 1.04 billion from NIS 424.8m in the corresponding period last year. Most of the rise is attributed to a NIS 464.6m. capital gain from the sale of shares in Leumi Insurance Holdings and Africa Israel Investments.

Net return on capital, calculated on an annual basis, reached 15.5%, compared with 7.7% a

year earlier and 8.1% in 1996.

Net operating profit in the first nine months of 1997 increased 44.7% to NIS 536.9m. from NIS 371m. in the corresponding period in 1996.

Loans to the public amounted to NIS 84.4b., representing an increase of 9.5% compared with the equivalent period in 1996. Deposits from the public totaled NIS 84.4b. an increase of 9.5% from a year earlier.

In a statement, the bank said that the groups' profits were

influenced by an increase in the provision for doubtful debts and a decrease of NIS 20.8m. in the group's share in the profits of associated companies, mainly as a result of the decline in the bank's holding in non-banking corporations.

United Mizrahi Bank said that third-quarter net rose 27.6% to NIS 70.7 million from NIS 55.4m a year ago. During the first nine months of the year net profit increased 41% to NIS 181.4m from NIS 128.7 at the same period of 1996.

Net return on capital was 12.4% against 9.7% in the equivalent period last year and 6.7% in 1996.

The bank said that earnings from financing operations, before provision for doubtful debts, rose 6.1% in the first nine months to NIS 730.1m. compared with NIS

688.4m. at the same period last year.

Operating and other income was NIS 486.4m. compared with NIS 467.1m. in the same period last year. The bank said that the increase largely derived from the growth in income from securities activity and a rise in foreign currency trading.

Mishkan Hapoalim Mortgage Bank reported that third-quarter net profit rose 22% to NIS 33.5m. from NIS 26m. in the corresponding quarter of 1996.

During the first nine months of the year net profit climbed 19.7% to NIS 86.8m from NIS 72.5m a year ago.

The operating income of Israel's second largest mortgage bank rose in the last quarter to NIS 45.9m. from NIS 36m. a year ago. In the first nine months operating income totaled NIS 131.5m. versus NIS 116.5m. in the corresponding period in 1996.

### RESULTS

By DAN GERSTENFELD

Bank Otzar Hahayal said that third-quarter net profit rose to NIS 11.2m. from NIS 10.2m. a year ago. During the first nine months net profit remained almost unchanged at NIS 27.2m. compared with NIS 27.1m. in the corresponding period in 1996.

Net return on capital was 14.8% compared with 14.9% at the equivalent time last year.

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## Sharansky apologizes to EU for juice episode

By DAVID HARRIS

Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky apologized yesterday to the Commission of the European Union for Israel's handling of the ongoing orange juice controversy, his senior adviser Eli Kazhdan told *The Jerusalem Post*.

Intensive negotiations are scheduled to begin in Brussels today in a bid to resolve the four-year dispute. Earlier this month the EU advised importers that all Israeli exports could be in breach of trade stipulations. This followed allegations that Israeli manufacturers were using Brazilian oranges in fruit juice exports to Europe. The accusation has been strongly refuted by manufacturers, who say any retroactive fines could kill off the industry, which has been declining through the 1990s.

Sharansky and Customs and VAT Director Moti Ayalon yesterday told five commissioners they were keen for an early agreement. Indicating the desire for a fresh start, Sharansky informed the diplomats that neither he nor Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman, nor Ayalon were involved in the original disagreement, said Kazhdan. Sharansky said he would not want the dispute to continue, calling it "a thorn in the side."

The minister then apologized for lengthy delays in supplying information requested by the EU. "We are sorry this has happened and we realize this has strained our relationship," said Sharansky, according to Kazhdan.

In response the commissioners promised to withdraw the warnings to importers once the issue was resolved. While Sharansky returned home last night, Ayalon remained in Brussels to lead the negotiations.

The Israelis also raised a request to allow goods produced jointly in Israel and Jordan or the PA to be allowed into the EU under favorable trade conditions.

"The US has made efforts of late to welcome this sort of activity, with the joint venture in Irbid," said Kazhdan, referring to the agreement to allow Jordanians in Irbid to use an extension of the US-Israel free trade agreement. "The EU, which has free trade agreements with both, doesn't encourage economic development."

The commissioners promised to investigate once the orange juice issue was resolved.

### BANQUE COMMERCIALE S.A. En liquidation concordataire Geneva, Switzerland

#### NOTICE

In the matter of Banque Commerciale S.A., Geneva, in liquidation by composition, as ordered by the Court of Justice on November 9, 1984, creditors who have not yet withdrawn their dividends are requested to do so by January 14, 1998, by writing to the following address:  
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P.O. Box 3201,  
CH - 1211 Geneva 3

or to the liquidator's address:  
ATAG Ernst & Young S.A.  
P.O. Box 3270,  
CH - 1211 Geneva 3

Falling such instructions to the bank by January 14, 1998, and provided the ten-year time limit has elapsed, in accordance with provision 42, para. 2 of the Ordinance of April 11, 1935, concerning the composition procedure for banks and savings banks, such unpaid dividends shall be pooled with the estate and distributed according to provision 269 of the Law on Debt Collection and Bankruptcy.

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November 28, 1997
Friday
Page 23%

Sharansky apologizes to EU for juice episode
By DAVID HARRIS

MISHTANIM LEADING ISSUES

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various stocks like Agri, Bank Leumi, Bezeq, etc.

RETZEF CONTINUOUS LEADING ISSUES

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various stocks like Agri, Bank Leumi, Bezeq, etc.

KARAM SMALL CAPITALIZATION LEADING ISSUES

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various stocks like Agri, Bank Leumi, Bezeq, etc.

LAST CHANGE

Large table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various stocks and bonds.

LAST CHANGE

Large table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various stocks and bonds.

Volkswagen to invest billions in new models

By WOLFGANG REUTER and JACK EWING
Switzerland's SMH AG. Volkswagen's Golf is facing a challenge from Daimler's Mercedes-Benz A-Class subcompact...

The investment comes as rivals such as Daimler-Benz AG and Fiat challenge the VW Golf's dominance of the European market for mid-size cars...

The Lupo will be an inner-city answer to the Smart Car being built by a joint venture of Daimler and...

S. Korea says IMF aid likely in excess of \$20b.

By YOON LEE
SEOUL - Korea's aid from the International Monetary Fund may be "far above" the \$20 billion already announced...

The state-run Yonhap Television News reported the country may have to request as much as \$50 billion.

Lim told reporters the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank have agreed to join the IMF in providing financial assistance to South Korea.

Lim told a press briefing that the size of the eventual aid package will be determined by Korea's short-term debts and foreign currency reserves...

Readers who wish to report missing or misquoted data should do so on postcards only, addressed to Jerusalem Post Business Desk, P.O.B. 81, Jerusalem 91000

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ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Table with columns: Currency, 1 MONTHS, 6 MONTHS, 12 MONTHS. Lists Patah (foreign currency deposit rates).

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)
Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates\* (27.11.97)

Table with columns: CURRENCY AND TRANSFERS, BANKNOTES, Rep. Rates. Lists various exchange rates.

\*These rates vary according to bank. \*\*Bank of Israel.

SOURCE: S&P COMSTOCK (DATE 27-NOV-97)
SOURCE: BANK LEUMI

ISRAELI SHARES ABROAD

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various international stocks.

LONDON

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various London stocks.

INTERNATIONAL SHARES

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various international stocks.

LONDON

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various London stocks.

PARIS

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various Paris stocks.

FRANKFURT

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various Frankfurt stocks.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATES

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various exchange rates.

NEW YORK MARKET INDEXES

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various New York market indexes.

OTHER MARKET INDEXES

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various other market indexes.

DOLLAR CROSSRATES (US)

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various dollar crossrates.

LONDON COMMODITIES

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various London commodities.

LONDON METAL FIXES

Table with columns: Symbol, Last, Change. Lists various London metal fixes.

# TASE ends higher led by banks

## Tel Aviv

Stocks rose, with bank shares leading the risers.

The Mishnanim Index rose 1.24 percent to 285.82, the Maof Index of 25 issues rose 1.48% to 296.3, and the Tel Aviv Continuous Trading Index added 0.47%, to 95.6. For the week, the Maof rose 2.6%, the Mishnanim rose 2.2%, and the TACT added 0.8%.

"This market cannot stay isolated; it always keeps its eye on the world," said Eli Nahum, head of trading at Zarnex Securities Ltd. If other markets stay calm next week "we'll see the [Tel Aviv] market continuing to look good."

Bank Leumi, Israel's second-largest bank by assets, yesterday said third-quarter net income rose 8.4%.

"Almost a third of the volume was driven by the banking sector, and this is the story for the whole day," Nahum said.

Discount Bank, Bank Leumi and Bank Hapoalim were the most-traded issues, trading NIS 25.1 million, NIS 24.2m., and NIS 11.9m. respectively. Discount rose 0.5%, Bank Leumi rose 2.5%, and Bank Hapoalim rose 3%.

Across the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, NIS 225.6m. of shares traded, 48% more than the month's daily average of NIS 152.7m. shekels. Nearly two issues advanced for every one that fell.

## Europe

UK stocks were mixed as a stronger pound hurt exporters, off-

setting gains in financial stocks sparked by robust earnings from Royal Bank of Scotland Plc and J1 Group Plc. Mining companies added to declines.

Investors were encouraged after Japan's benchmark Nikkei Index, which recently threatened to lead global markets down, surged 3.5% on optimism that the government will take stronger steps to bail out the country's faltering financial industry.

"Japan's probably good for sentiment," said Nick Bird, a fund manager at Exeter Asset Management with about £400 million invested in UK equities.

"The market won't go much lower. We expect it will pick up and pay for Christmas; it's got a lot of support."

The benchmark FT-SE 100 index fell 2.2 points, or 0.04%, to

## STOCKS



Maof 296.3 ▲ 1.48%

FTSE 4889 ▼ 0.04%

Nikkei 16603.2 ▲ 3.48%

4889.0. With US markets closed in observance of the Thanksgiving holiday, trading was light, with 263.4 million shares traded compared with a daily average of 347.5 million shares over the past

20 trading sessions. Broader indexes were also mixed.

The FT-SE 250 Index of mid-sized companies advanced 6.5 points to 4658.3, while the FT-SE 350 Index, a combination of the other two indexes, lost 0.2 points to 2361.2.

The pound rose against the dollar, hurting exporters as their products become more expensive abroad and crimping profit when it is brought home and converted. The pound was last at 0.5979, from 0.5973 Wednesday.

## Asia

Japanese stocks surged, led by banks and brokerages, on optimism a wave of bankruptcies will force the government to take stronger steps to bail out the

country's faltering financial industry.

Mitsubishi Trust & Banking Corp., Dai-ichi Kangyo Bank Ltd. and Sumitomo Bank Ltd. led the advance. Bucking the trend were two banks burdened by bad loans — Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan Ltd., which edged down, Yasuda Trust & Banking Co., which was unchanged.

Gains by major manufacturers, firmly established in the US and other overseas markets, such as Sony Corp., contributed to the rise.

"I would call that a flight to quality, particularly in the financial sector," said Christophe Aurand, chief investment officer at Taiyo Life Gamma Asset Management Ltd., who helps manage \$4.2 billion in assets. The benchmark Nikkei 225 stock average rose 557.65 points,

or 3.48%, to 16,603.20, its biggest percentage gain since November 17. The broader ToPIX average of all shares on the first section of the Tokyo Stock Exchange rose 30.18, or 2.5%, to 1238.77.

Comments by Finance Minister Hiroshi Mitsuoka on Wednesday showed a new sense of urgency that traders and analysts said may point to new government support. The ruling Liberal Democratic Party has already hinted it will use taxpayers' money to guarantee customer assets at failed banks and brokerages. "We're seeing a sense of crisis in the government," said Kaoru Ichikawa, chief manager of equity trading at Kohsui Securities Co. The government has figured out it needs to help financial institutions, something investors already knew, he said. (Bloomberg)

# Mark falls as German recovery seen tenuous

The dollar extended Wednesday's gains against the mark amid evidence Germany's recovery is tenuous, while US growth remains solid.

The head of Germany's council of economic advisers, Herbert Hax, said the Western European economy is in a prolonged "phase of economic weakness," and that government forecasts for stronger growth may be inaccurate.

The US currency reached a one-month high above 1.76 marks Wednesday, as evidence of strong economic growth in the US keeps rate-rise expectations alive there.

"The need for monetary policy tightening in the US is looming much larger than in Germany,"

said Steven Mansell, senior strategist at BNP Capital Markets. "All the figures in the US are coming out on the strong side, with the crisis in Asia having no discernible impact on consumer sentiment."

The dollar rose to 1.7683 marks, extending Wednesday's rise to 1.7636 — the strongest since October 27. In other trading, the dollar pared gains earlier in the week against the yen as the Japanese government moved closer to committing public funds to aid the troubled banking industry. The dollar was at 126.96 yen, down from a five-year high Tuesday of just under 128.00.

Weak German growth is likely to further delay any interest rate

risers there, undermining the mark by keeping the return on mark-denominated deposits from rising.

Hax said the government forecasts for economic growth — 2.5% in 1997 and 3% in 1998 — are dependent on export growth and don't reveal how weak domestic demand and investment is.

"As Hax said, we have exported growth but it isn't yet feeding through into the domestic economy," said Mansell at BNP. "The government's growth forecasts, to be credible, must be based on strong consumer demand."

In the US, however, "one can't escape the fact that US growth is domestically led," Mansell said. That leaves the US less suscepti-



Dollar 3.539 ▲ 0.09%

Basket 3.8108 ▼ 0.1%

Mark 2.0029 ▼ 0.67%

Sterling 5.9183 no change

ble to turmoil in Asia that could dampen US trade, while Germany's export-led economy

stands to lose significantly, he said.

Figures released Wednesday showed US gross domestic product at a 3.3% annual rate in the third quarter, down from an original estimate of 3.5%, according to the Commerce Department. A separate report showed first-time jobless claims fell last week, suggesting unemployment remains low.

Also fueling expectations German rates won't rise as soon as US rates, Bundesbank council member Edgar Meister yesterday said Europe's common currency should start with interest rates at low German levels, instead of converging at a higher level.

On Wednesday, another council member, Guntram Palm said European central banks have room to set interest rates independently of each other through next year, hinting Germany may not raise its rates to bring them in line with higher rates elsewhere in Europe.

"The Bundesbank can't do anything on its own, without the cooperation of other countries, in this fragile world economic climate. They'll wait at least until the end of the year," said Dieter Huchy, a trader at Landesbank Schleswig Holstein in Kiel.

In Japan, Vice Finance Minister Takeshi Komura said the government stands ready to support its financial institutions, though any

use of public funds must have public support.

The dollar's rise against the yen earlier in the week was capped as traders fretted that Japan may soon adopt a plan for assisting its troubled banking system, a move that could restore confidence in Japanese financial assets and the yen.

Three major Japanese financial companies went under in the last month, and a smaller regional bank failed this week.

Japan's Finance Minister Hiroshi Mitsuoka said he would respond "with great interest" to proposals that Japan use public money to help ailing banks. (Bloomberg)

# Zinc rises on expectations of drop in China's exports

Zinc rose for a second day amid expectations China's exports will drop in 1998 after a sevenfold increase in the first 10 months of this year cut the nation's stockpiles. Chinese deliveries are largely responsible for a 123,800-ton, 25 percent rise in the London Metal Exchange's global zinc stockpile since September 9, analysts say. Three-month zinc rose \$6 a ton to \$1,173 a ton on the LME.

Gold prices were little changed.

## Precious metals

On Wednesday in London, gold fell to its lowest level since March 1985 as traders bet the precious metal will fall further amid concerns that central banks will sell more gold. Gold for immediate delivery fell 5 cents to \$296.50 an ounce.

Platinum rose in inter-bank trading. Johnson Matthey Plc, the

world's largest platinum marketing company, said its first-half profit rose 31% on a climbing income from its electronic materials, precious metals and auto-catalyst divisions. Platinum for immediate delivery rose \$3 to \$384 an ounce.



Gold \$296 ▼ 0.55%

Crude Oil \$18.62 ▲ 0.09%

## Oil

Crude oil prices were little changed after a decline, as Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries ministers decided to reconvene to discuss quotas before tomorrow's scheduled meeting. Crude tumbled almost 3% on Wednesday, led by a

decline in US oil product markets. In Jakarta, the OPEC winter meeting was due to start its second closed-door session yesterday to start to thrash out the possibility of raising its output quota.

January Brent crude futures traded 6 cents higher at \$18.62 a barrel, after closing 53 cents lower Wednesday.

## Others

Copper was little changed. Prices rose Wednesday as continued economic growth in the US and robust European demand offset expectations Asia will experi-

ence further slowdown into next year. The benchmark three-month forward copper contract on the LME last traded unchanged at \$1.883 a metric ton.

Coffee futures rose amid speculation that Vietnamese growers are delaying sales of lower-grade robusta coffee beans due to expectations that prices could go higher in the coming weeks. While Vietnamese coffee production is expected to rise this year, growers are delaying sales in the hope that they can secure higher prices for their beans later this year, analysts said.

About 97% of Vietnam's crop is made up of robusta coffee, which is traded in London and is more bitter tasting than arabica beans traded in New York. Robusta coffee for January delivery, the most active contract, rose \$6 to \$1,636 a metric ton on the London International Financial Futures and Options Exchange. (Bloomberg)

# UK bonds fall on rate hike fears

UK bonds fell amid lingering concern about how high official interest rates are headed in the light of the higher inflation forecasts made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer earlier this week.

The benchmark 7.25 percent 10-year UK government bond fell 1/4, or 25 pence per 100 pound bond, to 105. The yield rose 3 basis points to 6.56%. The December long gilt futures contract fell 9/32 to 118 17/32.

On Tuesday, Chancellor Gordon Brown, in a statement foreshadowing the March 1998 budget, raised his forecast for inflation excluding mortgage interest payments to 2.25 percent this year, to 2.75% for 1997 and to 3.0% for next year.

"The market was a little unmoved by the higher inflation forecasts, which increased expectations for further rate rise next year," said Doug Jones, senior fixed income fund manager at Gartmore Asset Management, which controls about \$12 billion of international fixed-income assets. "That sentiment has spilled over into today."

The yield on the December short starting futures contract, a measure of interest-rate expectations, rose 1 basis point to 7.69 percent. The yield on the June 1998 contract rose 4 basis points to 7.73%. That yield has risen 12 basis points since Tuesday's statement, suggesting expectations for further base rate increases in the first half of next year are growing.

"There is clearly a greater than 50% risk of a further quarter-point rate rise, and that's reflected in the market," said Jones. "Whether it's needed or not is another matter, but the Bank of England may want a

safety valve in the fight to win its anti-inflation spurs."

Since May the Bank of England has raised its benchmark interest rate 1.25 percentage points to 7.25% in a bid to slow economic growth and inflation. The latest of the five quarter-point increases came November 6.

The Bank of England Governor Eddie George was expected to answer questions yesterday from a Treasury Select Committee on the central bank's quarterly inflation report, released earlier this month.

"There could be some interesting questions, notably about why the Bank's inflation forecast is lower than the government's. But it really comes too late in the day to have impact on the market," said Tom Rayner, international economist at SocGen Securities.

Among shorter-maturity gilts — those most responsive to changes in expectations for official interest rates — the yield on the 6%, two-year note rose 4 basis points to 7.10%. The yield on the 7%, five-year note due 2002 rose 3 basis points to 6.81%.

Meanwhile, 10-year gilts currently yield 116 basis points more than their German counterparts, up from 115 Wednesday, and up from 102 basis points a month ago. The yield spread is a measure of the additional risk investors perceive in holding gilts rather than German bonds.

"Gilts are a bit of a dilemma for investors at the moment," said Jones at Gartmore. "They look attractive on a spread basis but are expensive on an absolute basis, and so is sterling, which makes the spread trade less attractive." (Bloomberg)

# Defense industries officials mum on shaky Polish deal

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

Defense industry officials refused to comment yesterday on reports that Poland was reexamining a \$650 million deal for missiles and a fighter helicopter upgrade, and may back out of the agreement.

In Warsaw, Polish Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz said his new government was scrutinizing the agreement signed by a previous government on October 13.

He said that a new tender might be issued for the supply of a missile integration system for Polish helicopters.

The agreement, which required the approval of both governments, called for Rafael and Elbit Systems Ltd. to supply 5,000 NT-D anti-tank missiles, and El-Op

to install advanced avionics and fire-control systems in the Huzar helicopter.

The contract was won after a nasty competition with a consortium led by the US-based Boeing Corp. The lengthy negotiations sparked questions about military procurement procedures in Poland. Onyszkiewicz said on Wednesday that a special committee with representatives from the foreign, defense and economic ministries would be appointed to decide whether to approve the agreement, which he called "faulty."

His deputy, Romuald Szeremietiew, suggested that Poland might be able to turn to Boeing to integrate the missiles. "The only thing we will take into account is the good of the Polish military," Szeremietiew told The

Associated Press.

According to reports in Poland, Elbit will be encouraged to reach an agreement with Boeing to jointly integrate the missiles. They added that the defense ministry would ask the Polish cabinet to announce a new tender if an agreement is not reached.

Elbit chairman Josef Akerman was quoted as saying that the NT-D missile is compatible only with Israeli electronic systems. Elbit spokesman Arie Tal could not be reached for comment. But sources in Elbit dismissed the reports.

"This deal has had its ups and downs for weeks. This is nothing new," said one source.

Rafael spokesman Noach Shahar could not be reached and two other officials at the firm would not comment.



Ethiopian women mark the community's Sigid festival yesterday in Jerusalem. (Isaac Harari)

# Ethiopian community celebrates Sigid festival

By BAT-SHEVA TSUR

Thousands of members of the Ethiopian Jewish community gathered yesterday at Armon Hanatziv in Jerusalem to mark the annual Sigid festival.

They were joined by President Ezer Weizman, Chief Rabbi Yisrael Lau, Absorption Minister Yuli Edelstein, kessim and secular community leaders.

The Sigid was celebrated in Ethiopia as a day of fasting on the top of a mountain which symbolized Mount Sinai, one month after Simhat Torah, the day on which the Torah was given to the people of Israel. It was a day of prayer for the return to Zion.

Since the completion of the community's aliyah following Operation Solomon, the Sigid has been marked annually on the hilltop which overlooks the Temple Mount. The participants also hold a memorial ceremony for the thousands who died on the long trek from Ethiopia to Zion.

This is a unique community whose gentle spirit and steadfastness have been an example to the entire nation, Weizman said at yesterday's ceremony. He noted with satisfaction the growing numbers of youngsters serving in the IDF and graduating from the universities.

"I am especially happy to see the members of this community who have become officers in the IDF," Weizman said. The community

bad faced many difficulties "but we are on the right road," he added.

This is a time for reconciliation and respect for individuals, Lau said. He noted that the Sigid was a unique festival which showed the close connection of the community to Zion and the Torah.

"We have known difficult days recently but it is time to open a new chapter," the rabbi said.

The Absorption Ministry is making special efforts to help the immigrants in the community who still face difficulties, Edelstein said. He noted that attempts had been made in the past year to find permanent housing for those immigrants still living at caravan sites.

# Swiss delay major report on Nazi gold trade

ZURICH (Reuters) — A major report on Switzerland's controversial gold trade with Nazi Germany will not be ready in time for an international conference next week, historians said yesterday.

Historians named by the government to investigate the neutral country's role in World War II said new discoveries meant the report could not be released as planned on Monday, one day before a conference on Nazi gold brings opens in London.

But they said they would present on Monday a "statistical summary" of gold operations by the Swiss central bank, which bought Nazi gold during the war and acted as a conduit for German gold sales to other central banks.

"We only recently discovered new elements that require further study and despite the efforts of my staff we were unable to complete the report on time."

said Jean-Francois Bergier, head of the nine-member independent commission of experts.

Bergier declined to say what the new elements were but he did say they came in part from documents and sources found in the United States and Germany.

A commission statement said the report on Swiss gold buying from Nazi Germany, the first of several papers it is due to produce in the next five years, would now be released in January.

Switzerland has borne the brunt of Jewish-led international criticism that its national bank bought large amounts of gold, including gold stolen from occupied countries and concentration camp inmates, from Nazi Germany.

The statement said the delay would also allow the report to incorporate new information from the London conference.

Going nowhere fast

The man who likes to speak of projecting strength to the world is more and more becoming a symbol of weakness. Binyamin Netanyahu is being pulled in a dozen different directions. And the result is paralysis on every front, Herb Keiron writes

A recurrent theme in Binyamin Netanyahu's 1996 election campaign was that the Arabs - indeed the whole world - respect strength and determination.

This message was clear: the Likud would provide a government girded with the strength and resolve needed to get the Palestinians to shout "uncle" at the negotiating table.

This has not been one of Netanyahu's finest weeks. In the past, his crises seemed to come - with apologies to Shakespeare - in single spies, not battalions.

For a moment it looked as if the country was on the verge of a new infatuation, and an atmosphere of crisis permeated Israel's relationship with the Palestinians.

Shortly thereafter came the police decision to indict Netanyahu for involvement in the Bar-On Affair (a recommendation turned down by the state attorney) and everything "almost magically" quieted down in Hebron and Bethlehem.

This week the fates were less kind. Just as Netanyahu was wriggling his way out of the latest Likud crisis and attempted palace putsch, the diplomatic front - seemingly quiet for weeks - erupted with a vengeance.

The two crises - the domestic and the diplomatic - are not happening independently of each other, they are not two different planets spinning in separate orbits.

THE PROBLEMS inside the Likud definitely impinge on the diplomatic front, says Reuven Merhav, former director-general of the Foreign Ministry.

The prime minister, like everyone, has a limited attention span," Merhav says. "If he is busy all day with internal political intrigues, how much can he prepare for the diplomatic front?"

Yossi Ben-Aharon, who was the director-general of the Prime Minister's Office under Yitzhak Shamir, agrees, and says that the Likud machinations are robbing Netanyahu of valuable time and energy.

The current situation in the government transmits a sense of confusion and weakness, he says. And if strength generates respect, as Netanyahu has long maintained, the weakness invites the opposite.

Ben-Aharon remarks that when the Americans observe the way the government and coalition relate to the prime minister, they see no reason to treat him any better.

Merhav says that just as Israelis are watching every quiver of Yasser Arafat's lip and every shake of his hand, out of concern that the man they sign agreements with today may not be there tomorrow, so too are the Americans and Palestinians carefully watching what is going on inside the Likud.

ONE MAN obviously hoping that just a few more strategically placed moves will push Netanyahu over the edge is Labor chairman Itzhak Mordechai.

Commenting in a radio interview this week, Barak compared the current situation to a group of people riding a bus driven by a driver who, though properly licensed, gets in an accident once a week.

One reason Barak has not pushed hard for a national unity government is his apparent feeling that the point where either the Likud or the nation will clamor for



Oleg 97

A new driver is close at hand. If Barak is encouraged by the polls, which - after the chaotic Likud convention - put him 12 percentage points ahead of Netanyahu, he would do well to look at polls a few months before the 1996 elections that had Peres outpolling Netanyahu by 20 percentage points, and at polls in the summer of 1995 which had Netanyahu beating Yitzhak Rabin by a similar margin.

group of Knesset MKs opposed to any more withdrawals in the West Bank. Tsomet faction MK Moshe Peled, explaining the logic behind the group's threats to pull down the government if Netanyahu decides to implement a further

As to whether bringing down the government might usher Labor back into power, meaning even more withdrawals, Peled says that the Eretz Yisrael lobby "could fight even more forcefully from the opposition."

other hand they maintain that these very threats actually strengthen the government's position in its dealings with the Americans because Netanyahu can then say: "Look, I can't move because the coalition has tied my hands."

from the next stage. The party is also reluctant to go to new elections out of concern that Lieberman could attract some of the immigrant votes either to the Likud, or to a second immigrant party he may set up. There is also concern inside the party that its own internal wrangling will weaken it at the polls.

In doing this, Sharansky is joining the Third Way, which has been flying the national unity banner for months. "Ideologically, the only difference between Bibi and Barak," says Third Way MK Alex Lubotzky, "is over the question of who should lead such a government."

Such threats, however, have been coming from different corners for months. They haven't changed the composition of the government, but they have created an atmosphere of perpetual confusion. The result of these continual maneuvers, says Aharon Klieman, a professor of diplomacy at Tel Aviv University, is a feeling that no one is in control.

The two crises - the domestic and diplomatic - are not happening independently of each other; they are not two different planets spinning in separate orbits. Rather, they are moons of the same planet, each influencing the gravitational pull of the other

withdrawal, says, "I don't want to be a part of a government that gives up Eretz Yisrael. Settlement [in Judea and Samaria] is more important than any government."

Conversations with members of "Force 17" reveal that they are playing a double game. On one hand they are threatening to bring down the government, while on the

The problem with the game, says Degel Hatorah MK Avraham Ravitz, is that it could - like all games - spin out of control. "Because they perceive Netanyahu

as weak, "Force 17" could push too hard and bring Netanyahu to a breaking point, unintentionally forcing him either to call new elections or to form a national unity government with Labor," says Ravitz.

But Shas MK Shlomo Benizri doesn't believe "Force 17" is a real threat. "They know that if they bring about the government's collapse, the alternative will be much worse," Benizri adds that from the standpoint of the religious parties, including Shas, the present coalition is an extremely comfortable one.

This attitude is not shared by the remaining coalition parties, Yisrael Ba'aliya and the Third Way. Yisrael Ba'aliya itself is split on the question of how much land to withdraw

that he can be leaned on to get the ball rolling. The third option is to lean hard on him in the hope that he will fall."

This week has shown that neither the Americans nor the Palestinians nor Netanyahu's own coalition partners are going to give him any breathing room. And as to whether they are going to push Netanyahu in order to get him to move, or push him order to knock him out, the answer to that question is very much in the eye of the beholder.

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# Telling survivors about the perpetrators

**In Israel for the Hebrew publication of 'Hitler's Willing Executioners,' Daniel Goldhagen spoke to Dan Izenberg about the controversy over his book**

The most striking thing about Daniel Goldhagen up close is the contrast between how young, almost boyish, he looks and how powerful an intellectual presence he has created. Even though he appears serious and intense, it is hard to believe that this slight, baby-faced Harvard assistant professor has triggered a controversy of international proportions and written an academic best-seller that has sold over 600,000 copies.

The 38-year-old Goldhagen arrived in Israel this week to mark the publication of the Hebrew edition of his book *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* by the Yedioth Aharonot publishing company.

Eighteen months after his book was released, he still talked about it with great enthusiasm and eagerly flipped through its pages, seeking passages to illustrate the points he made as he explained his thesis.

"Israel is the country with the largest number of survivors. They are passionately interested in having the truths about what happened be known," said Goldhagen. "I'm pleased the book is finally available to this extremely large community, their families and other Israelis who are deeply interested in this troubled part of the history of the Jewish people."

Hebrew is the 10th language into which Goldhagen's book has been translated. It already appears in English, German, Dutch, French, Italian, Portuguese, Greek and Czech and is being launched in Spanish simultaneously with the Hebrew. Serbian, Japanese, Chinese, Hungarian and Polish will follow. Since it was first published in March 1996, the book has appeared on the best-selling lists of at least 10 countries. In Germany, where 200,000 copies have been sold in one year, it was a best-seller for 45 weeks, including seven weeks at the top of the list. It also reached the No. 1 spot in seven other countries.

These are incredible figures for an academic book containing 461 pages of densely written text and 125 pages of footnotes on a graphically described, gruesome and extremely painful subject.

The book is an expansion of the thesis he wrote for his Ph.D., which he received from Harvard in 1992. It was meant to fill a vacuum in research that he came to believe was instrumental to the understanding of the Holocaust. "When I began this study in the mid-1980s, you could have read the entire literature of the Holocaust and you would have learned almost nothing about the people who were the perpetrators," said Goldhagen. "I simply set out to fill a gap in our knowledge... I wanted to answer the question: When Hitler gave the order to kill European Jewry, why did people carry it out? And quite obviously, until you know a great deal about these people, you can't answer that question," he said.

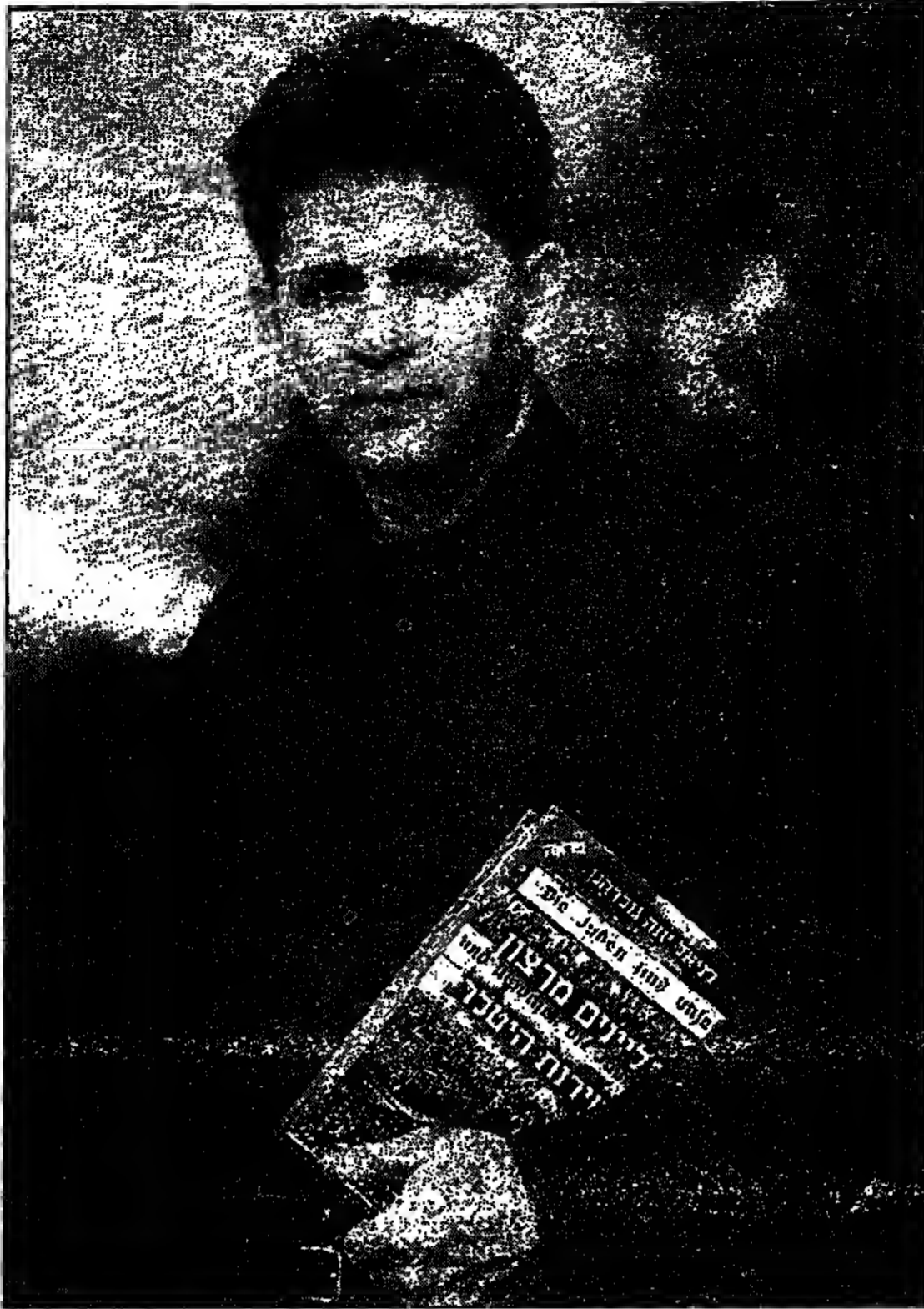
"What my book does is to shift the focus of attention from where it has been - that is, the abstract structures, the SS, the Nazi Party, the terror apparatus, the bureaucracy (an amorphous abstract concept) - back to the human beings, the perpetrators, the actors."

The book's underlying assumption is that without the perpetrators in the field to carry out the orders of the leadership, there could not have been a Holocaust. Therefore, it is crucial to get to know what the perpetrators did, why, and in what manner.

Goldhagen said that in addition to closely studying the actions and conduct of the perpetrators, he used the testimony of the victims to learn about the perpetrators.

"One of the striking things about the scholarly literature on the Holocaust is that it almost completely ignores the testimony of the survivors. I'm talking about those who write about the German side. This is really quite shocking. Some even say that the testimony has little or no value. But the survivors know a great deal about those who perpetrated violence upon them. If you want to find out whether the killer was eager or reluctant, the survivor can tell you," he asserted.

"If a historian of American slavery were to say the testimony of the slaves was not to be used when writing about the masters, it would seem to be a scandal, an outrage. And yet so many who write about



Daniel Goldhagen: "If a historian of American slavery were to say the testimony of the slaves was not to be used when writing about the masters, it would seem to be a scandal, an outrage. And yet so many who write about the perpetrators say this or passively take that position with regard to the victims."

conversion, to the racist theories of the late 19th and 20th centuries in which no solution to the "Jewish problem" was possible other than their removal from society by one means or another. He coined the term "eliminationist antisemitism" to describe this modern, post-Enlightenment type of anti-Jewish sentiment. Through the study of 19th century German texts, he makes the claim that antisemitism remained pervasive and widespread even during the heyday of the Enlightenment, and that by the end of the century, there were almost no German liberals left to champion the emancipation of the Jews.

The second, much longer section of the book, constitutes a case study of the perpetrators of the Holocaust, concentrating on those soldiers and police who represented a cross-section of the German population, usually older men with families, most of them not members of the Nazi party and not of a particularly militarist bent.

Goldhagen studied the actions of the perpetrators in profound detail in several police battalions operating in Poland and the Soviet Union, in work camps and on the death marches at the end of the war. These chapters desanctify the Holocaust and confront the horror head on. They include a breakdown of the cruelty of these perpetrators, the way they killed and the way the killings looked and smelled. He found that the perpetrators, whose numbers he estimated at somewhere between 100,000 and 500,000, performed their grisly work with enormous gusto and cruelty far above and beyond the call

of their superiors - even though they would not have faced punishment had they declined to participate in the genocide.

"What the book most fundamentally shows is that the perpetrators were not simply robots, they were not terrorized, and they were not blind obeyers of orders," explained Goldhagen. "These are all myths. They had the capacity to make all kinds of choices, and the book unearths the pattern of choices that they made, which was not to do less than was necessary but to do more than was necessary. Specifically to brutalize, beat and torture their victims routinely. These are willful, gratuitous acts."

According to Goldhagen, the "brutality and cruelty of the perpetrators has been absent from Holocaust literature. The cruelty was so widespread and frequent among the perpetrators as to be a constituent element of the Holocaust," proving that "ordinary" Germans were so imbued with antisemitism that they could kill with a deeply ingrained, personal ardor. That ardor had been ignited by the belief that Jews were hopelessly evil and corrupt-

ing, a belief which had saturated Germany's political culture for more than a century. Thus the two sections of the book complement and mutually verify each other in a way that is easy to understand - too easy for most scholars.

The book is also written in a highly emotional, hyperbolic tone to underline the fundamentally human fact of the Holocaust - the horror perpetrated by one human being armed with all the power, against another with none, and unequivocally asserts the immorality of their actions. It does so to emphasize the hatred and gratuitous brutality of the perpetrators' deeds, but it is a tone rarely found in books written by scholars seeking to create a climate of detachment and distance to enhance the scientific and objective nature of their work.

Goldhagen repeatedly makes the claim to be the one to have found the most important single explanation of the Holocaust. In a heated defense of his book published last year in the *New Republic*, he wrote: "The questions of why many tens of thousands of ordinary Germans from all walks of life, Nazis and

non-Nazis alike, killed, tortured and degraded Jews with zeal and energy, and why only a minuscule number availed themselves of the opportunity to withdraw from the unimaginably gruesome killing, have scarcely been broached by historians. [Yet] most would agree that these are questions of great importance, that no explanation of the Holocaust can be called adequate if it does not contain satisfying answers to them."

The claim has angered many of his colleagues. "This guy thinks a lot of himself," said Porat. "He says that what others have written about the Holocaust before him is unimportant." Porat also argued that Goldhagen ignores the fact that the Nazis massacred not only Jews but also Gypsies, Slavs and 150,000 other Germans. The Nazi extermination program involved all four groups, not just the Jews. Its ultimate aim was to "purify" the German race.

Secondly, said Porat, Goldhagen does not deal with the fact that other societies and countries were also virulently antisemitic but did not produce holocausts. Porat added that Goldhagen had not produced any new factual material about the Holocaust but had simply taken published data and fashioned his own thesis from it.

The criticism stung Goldhagen, who replied that "the case study of the death march is the first extensive study of its kind, much of the material on the police battalions is new, the study of the treatment meted out in the work camps is new. It's remarkable to me that someone would say something like this."

One of Goldhagen's local defenders is Yad Vashem chief historian Israel Gutman. Goldhagen's great contribution to the study of the Holocaust has been to turn the spotlight back to antisemitism after a period in which German scholars had been trying to "normalize" it, he said. "These scholars tried to shift attention away from German antisemitism by stressing the universal aspect of genocide, by claiming that mass murder is a characteristic of the modern era. The decisive fact in the Goldhagen controversy is that he has shifted the spotlight back to the antisemitism that fueled Nazi racism."

Perhaps the most incredible aspect of the story is the response to Goldhagen in Germany. At first, before the book was translated into German, he was pilloried in the German press. But when he came to promote the German edition last year, he became the public's darling. People who may have come to boo him at his six

Democracy Prize, the first time the distinguished prize had been awarded in six years. Goldhagen believes that his overwhelmingly positive reception is one more indication of how Germany has changed since the end of the war. On the one hand, today's Germans are caring enough to want to know the unvarnished truth about the behavior of their forefathers. On the other, they are self-confident enough to know that they are not personally implicated by their forefathers' actions.

"In a country which has changed so much since the war, the majority of the German people look back on the Holocaust with the same horror we do," said Goldhagen. "They simply want to know the truth. The book explodes the myth that Nazis and Germans were heirs apart. What people in Germany are finally coming to understand is that a discussion of the Holocaust does not shame Germany today. By discussing it, by focusing on the past, by trying to understand what happened, they are showing how much they've changed."

Goldhagen is the second generation of Holocaust researchers in his family. His father, Elch, lived through the Holocaust in Eastern Europe and later emigrated to the US where he earned a Ph.D. and specialized in Holocaust studies at Hunter College, Brandeis University and Harvard, from which he recently retired.

Goldhagen said he and his father, to whom he dedicated the book, are very close but that he disliked it when critics referred to his biography to try to explain his work. "I don't think the identity of scholars should come into play in evaluating their writings or oral pronouncements," he said.

"In Germany, when my book was first published, my background was dragged in all the time - son of a survivor, a Jew, and that," he recalled. "It was a way to try to delegitimize the book. I'm certainly against this. We should evaluate the positions of scholars based on the evidence that they bring to bear and the logic and power of their argumentation. It is not an interesting issue to me whether a scholar is Israeli, American, German, Jewish or not Jewish. Other people can talk about their backgrounds. I'm interested in trying to make the best sense of historical material. That's my job."

Goldhagen said that when he wrote the book, he did not dream it would evoke the international response it has. After its publication, he left Cambridge for a five-week promotional tour of the US and Britain and a short vacation.

**"When I began this study in the mid-1980s, you could have read the entire literature of the Holocaust and you would have learned almost nothing about the people who were the perpetrators"**

- Goldhagen

**"This guy thinks a lot of himself. He says that what others have written about the Holocaust before him is unimportant"**

- Dina Porat, head of TAU's Center for the Study of Antisemitism

public debates with German scholars stayed to cheer. One representative of the once-hostile German press chirped: "The avenger has charm."

In January, the *Journal for German and International Politics* awarded Goldhagen its

"I expected to start work on my new book when I got back on May 1," he said. "Since then, I haven't been able to."

Maybe he shouldn't be in such a rush. His next book is to be a comparative study of genocide in the 20th century.

Furthermore, in contrast to its public popularity, Goldhagen's book has met with severe criticism and even hostility on the part of most of his academic colleagues everywhere - including Israel.

"The book's simplicity - in fact, its oversimplification - is what has made the public buy it with such vigor," said Dina Porat, head of the Center for the Study of Antisemitism at Tel Aviv University.

The reaction and counterreaction have sparked a public debate which has yielded something like 2,000 book reviews and opinion pieces in the daily press, journals and magazines.

After 50 years of Holocaust research and tens of thousands of published books and manuscripts on the subject, what did Goldhagen purport to find that could electrify so many people?

the perpetrators say this or passively take that position with regard to the victims.

"I think the reason people do so is because what survivors have to say simply falsifies the theses they have, because the prevailing feeling until now has been that the perpetrators, the ordinary Germans who killed Jews, did not hate the victims, did not want to do it. The survivors say the opposite, so their testimony has been ignored and denigrated. In my book, I use the testimony of survivors as well as the testimony of the perpetrators."

THE BOOK is divided into two sections. The first is a discourse on German antisemitism, tracing the transformation from its medieval Christian roots, which included the possibility of saving and



**Yad Sarah**

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The Or Akiva unemployment office: Over the past year, more than half the employable women in town have been without jobs. (Jeremy Feldman)



Shoshana Ifach (right) and friend Shula have coffee at an Or Akiva hangout frequented by the unemployed. Ifach: 'When I see how little the politicians care about people like me, it makes me want to burn my Israeli identity card.' (Jeremy Feldman)

# Out of work

### Unemployment has hit a four-year high. And it's not just towns in the North and Negev that are affected, as Allison Kaplan Sommer discovered in Or Akiva

Promises, promises, then lies and more lies. That is how Shoshana Ifach, 40, a resident of Or Akiva, describes how the nation's leaders are coping with worsening unemployment.

Ifach, a brunette dressed in a red T-shirt, with gold jewelry, mutters her dissatisfaction while making her way to the cafe in the center of town — a hangout for the local jobless.

"When I see how little the politicians care about people like me, it makes me want to burn my Israeli identity card," she says bitterly.

She joins her friend Shula, also unemployed, an older woman dressed in a colorful caftan, on the cafe patio. They are the only two women in the place. Next to them is a table full of men in their 30s and 40s, sipping coffee and smoking cigarettes.

Inside the cafe, older, more derelict-looking men are nursing mid-morning beers. Ask the group what they think of the government's approach to unemployment and they laugh. "Our leaders are too busy with their politics to help us find jobs," shouts one.

"They are too busy figuring out how to topple Bibi, or how to protect their own behinds and keep their own jobs. Basically, they are interested in everything but the problems of little people."

Ifach says she has had no steady job for an entire decade and has only worked on and off in factories, restaurants, or doing house-keeping, never for more than a few months at a time.

Despite the fact that Or Akiva, just north of Caesarea, is an hour's commute to several cities, transportation is problematic for those who do not own a car. The only bus out of the city goes to Hadera. There is no direct service to Haifa, Tel Aviv or Netanya; places where there are jobs. Even when people are willing to make the trip, they find they cannot afford the transportation, and few employers are willing to cover the expense.

Ifach's 24-year-old daughter commutes just to work in a day-

care center. "There are no jobs in this area," she says.

"All of the jobs I had were far away and who is willing to work for a low wage and lose half of it on travel expenses, never mind spending three hours a day on a bus?" she adds.

Politicians and economists expressed great concern when the national jobless rate hit a four-year high of 8.7 percent in October.

Yet for Or Akiva, the figure is low compared to their local jobless rate of 9.75%.

Or Akiva has struggled with unemployment for years, but the problem has worsened since the start of the '90s when immigrants from the former Soviet Union began streaming in. The town was considered ideal for immigrant absorption at the time, being relatively close to the center of the country, with cheap housing. Construction boomed and the town's population doubled, intensifying competition for jobs.

In recent weeks, the national spotlight has turned to the troubled towns of the North and the Negev, where protests against layoffs and imminent factory closings exploded this week. But Or Akiva's plight shows that the signs of economic slowdown also exist close to the country's center.

"We have our finger on the pulse of the slowdown because people come to us when they lose their jobs, and recently, they have been coming," says Haim Bar, manager of the government Employment Service's Samaria and Sharon districts, which include Or Akiva. The service, which belongs to the Ministry of

Labor and Social Affairs, is responsible for job placement and approval of unemployment benefits.

"There is an overall increase in firings, you can't really trace this trend to the breakdown of one particular industry or another," Bar says. "People are being laid off in all areas, in retail, in service industries, and in production."

At the Or Akiva unemployment office, just a look at the faces of those filing in to pick up unemployment checks practically tells their story. One of those on line, Morris, a 59-year-old immigrant from Moldova who does not speak Hebrew, worked for the Antiquities Authority at an excavation site until he was laid off a month ago because of cutbacks. Another, Ella, 45, was laid off by a pharmaceutical manufacturer. Jake, 21, lost his job as a messenger for a company where he had worked for two years.

"We'd expected a significant improvement in the area of Or Akiva during these years. The forecasts had been that the new industrial parks and the businesses that have relocated there would create as many as 4,000 new jobs," Bar says. "But in reality, only 1,600 jobs have been created. That's managed to counteract the recent firings, but hasn't really improved things significantly."

Bar explains that "many businesses simply brought their old workers with them from previous locations. The other reason is that since they were building new facilities, many of the companies chose to invest in new equipment that require a lower level of manpower."

At the local cafe, many, such as

Ifach, blame the immigrants for the job shortage.

"It's all been bad since the new immigrants came here. Since they came, we've watched them get ahead while we who were born here, and served this country, stay behind," alleges Ifach.

"I look for jobs, they say they are not interested in me. I see the Russians getting the jobs. Maybe if I dyed my hair blonde and learned to speak Russian I could get a job, too."

Yet officials say that some of the most dire cases of unemployment involve immigrants, particularly some from the more far-flung republics of the Caucasus region.

Government statistics only define new immigrants as those who came to Israel less than three years ago, yet there are indications that the problem of finding a job lingers beyond that period. Moshe Nissim, manager of Or Akiva's unemployment bureau, estimates that among those who immigrated there since 1990, 70% are unemployed.

BACK AT the cafe, Shula pulls out her social-security slip. She says that although her son is now out of high school, making him a potential wage earner, her monthly income has dipped from NIS 1,578 a month to NIS 1,355.

Her son, who is unemployed, faces IDF recruitment only in the spring. "Everyday he goes out looking for work and comes back with nothing. He asks me why should he go to the army and serve the country if the country has nothing to offer him in return."

Those who bear the brunt of the frustration are the clerks who work with the jobless every day. Nissim, 34, says that recent months have been the toughest of his five-year tenure managing the unemployment office.

In the past month alone, there have been five incidents in which a job seeker has become violent, requiring police to intervene. In one case Nissim was hit by an unemployed man.

The office receptionists, Rita and Rina, endure verbal abuse on a regular basis, both at the office and on the street. Their jobs make them unpopular, since they are in charge of deciding whether a candidate has made a sincere enough effort to find a job. Unemployment benefits can be suspended for three months if an able-bodied job seeker seems unwilling to work.

Those who tend to get violent are those who are issued a "refusal" slip. While they may seem cruel at times, the refusals are a necessary mechanism, Bar contends.

"It's depressing but true. The reason many people end up taking a job and going to work is because of the threat of losing their benefits. Of course we would prefer to be kind and good-hearted, but without that push, I know that far fewer people would get up in the morning and go to work," Bar says.

There are some unemployed who clearly aren't interested in finding a job. Some are among the denizens of the cafe in Or Akiva. Levi Shalom, 44, for example, is defined as unemployed, although he says he makes enough as a lifeguard in the summer to get through the year without other work.

But many people who genuinely want to work have trouble finding a job doing something besides cleaning offices. The situation is particularly difficult for women, Nissim reports. Over the

## The unemployment cycle

While unemployment has reached its highest level in nearly four years, the situation is not as bad as it was earlier in the decade.

Unemployment stood at 11.6 percent in the first quarter of 1992, when hundreds of thousands of immigrants from the former Soviet Union had just arrived. In the months following that peak, the jobless rate dropped despite the continued growth in the population. The largest decline, 1.2%, or 23,000 fewer unemployed, occurred in the last three months of 1993.

From then until June 1996, unemployment continued to decline, reaching a low of 6.5%. However, since the Netanyahu government came to power, the trend has been reversed, with a steady increase up to the present 8.7%.

Those on the political Right contend that the reduction in unemployment under Labor was matched by irresponsible fiscal policy which led to a huge budget deficit while those on the Left and center parties see the current jump in unemployment as a sign of the lack of caring in government ranks toward the workers.

The trends in the early '90s can be completely explained by

the entry into the market of the Russian immigrants," according to Hebrew University public finance professor Eytan Sheshinski, who pointed out that within two years of immigration, most Russians found work.

The economy boomed its way through the early and mid-'90s with annual growth rates of 6.7% in part because of the influx of highly educated labor. The other key development in the job market in recent years has been the replacement of the Palestinian workforce with foreign laborers — neither of whom are included in the Central Bureau of Statistics' unemployment figures.

Many economists today believe that these two categories largely cancel each other out. However, the presence of some 100,000 non-Israeli workers on the market has an impact on job availability — at least in the low-tech areas.

Planning economists at the Labor and Social Affairs Ministry Benny Fefferman does not accept the argument that Israelis are unwilling to work at manual labor currently done by foreign workers. He is concerned that employers are keen to keep foreign workers for economic reasons. "In other words, Israeli

labor comes at a higher price.

The drop in employment, said Sheshinski, was caused by high interest rates and a tight rein on public expenditure including sizable budget cuts. This combination "has had a negative effect on the growth rate of the economy, on investments and subsequently on employment," said Sheshinski.

While he forecasts "more of the same" in 1998 — no drop in unemployment and no sizable increase in growth — International Monetary Fund first deputy managing director Stanley Fischer sees the future in a different light. During a visit here this week, he asserted that Israel's recent economic decline has largely bottomed out and as long as the Bank of Israel sticks to its tight monetary policy and the government prevents public spending excesses, things can only look up.

Fischer's positive outlook is shared by many government officials and civil servants. But Sheshinski's and Fefferman's more somber view, particularly concerning employment, reflects that of the wider business and economic community. "While it's only an estimate, I believe unemployment will average 8.5% in 1998," said Fefferman. —David Harris

The only way it affects us is that we get more people responding to our newspaper advertisements who are desperate for work but completely unqualified," she says.

The high-tech companies tend to rely on word-of-mouth or universities to recruit workers.

"For us, today, it is getting

**Shula's son, who is unemployed, faces IDF recruitment only in the spring. Every day he goes out looking for work and comes back with nothing. He asks me why should he go to the army and serve the country if the country has nothing to offer him in return'**

harder, not easier to find qualified applicants. There are more and more start-ups and more competition for candidates. Even companies like Scitex, which were struggling a few years ago are back on their feet and hiring," Gatt says.

Companies such as Nice Systems in Tel Aviv, which is involved in computer security, does not even register with the Employment Service, whose clientele tends to lack the training they require, says Aviva Gatt, a human resource manager with the firm.

In fact, Gatt maintains that high national unemployment has "nothing to do with us."

times, but when we saw their limitations, we gave up."

For many in Or Akiva who will never even get a foot in the door at a company like Nice, the only other option may be an endless wait at the unemployment office or the cafe.

Unemployment casts a shadow over every aspect of life in a community, and plays a role in pushing up crime rates, experts say. The unemployed in Or Akiva are only too familiar with the syndrome.

"People don't have anything to do: they are bored, so they steal," says Shula. "There are also many, many single mothers here. A lot of marriages fall apart because of economic pressures."

Others turn to drug abuse, to dull the senses. Shula points to a man sitting in a cafe, in a kippa and a white robe, who smells of alcohol. "He's from a good family, but uses drugs from morning till night," while collecting unemployment benefits, she asserts.

The clerks at the employment bureau say that while they know it seems unfair, alcoholics and drug addicts tend to have the easiest time collecting benefits, since they are rarely sent for job interviews.

In order to stay on good terms with potential employers, the clerks don't send over candidates they are certain won't be able to do a job. When they smell alcohol on someone's breath or see dilated pupils, they just hand over benefits, without trying to encourage the person to find a job.

Even a former rich source of employment for Or Akiva — the neighboring mansions of Caesarea — are no longer an option for many.

Eli, a cafe denizen, says that "once, we would go to Caesarea and work as gardeners, as housekeepers, as nannies. Now, even that connection is gone. All of them have workers from the Philippines, from Thailand. There is no communication between us, and, more importantly, there are fewer jobs."

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# Is Bibi good for the Arabs?

After last winter's floods left much of the Israeli Arab town of Kalansuwa neck-deep in water, Tourism Minister Moshe Katsav visited and pledged the town had seen its last flood. Since then, the Netanyahu government has invested NIS 22 million in flood control and repairs.

Last month the prime minister personally laid the cornerstone for the flood-control channel, and Deputy Mayor Ibrahim Kadi says Kalansuwa, which lies next to the Green Line, about a 15-minute drive north from Kfar Sava, is ready for this season's rains.

"On this matter, the government has kept its promise," Kadi says. "On everything else, it's been a disappointment - just like every other government before. For Kalansuwa, for the whole Israeli Arab sector, the Netanyahu government is no better, no worse."

But in Nazareth, the largest Israeli Arab city, the quality of life

Israeli Arabs are worse off under the Netanyahu government than they were under the Labor-Peres one, according to a new report.

Larry Derfner explores the situation in Kalansuwa

just to get somebody in this government to listen to us."

Sikkuy, one of the country's leading organizations promoting Israeli Arab equality, has just published its survey of the Netanyahu government's treatment of the country's Arab sector. Its conclusions lie closer to the account presented in Nazareth than to the one offered in Kalansuwa.

"This government gives the Arab population secondary importance," says Dr. As'ad Ghanem, a Haifa University political scientist and co-director of Sikkuy with Alouph Harven. "They've shown no interest in solving problems."

The reason for the government's neglect, Ghanem maintains, is political. "Ninety-five percent of Israeli Arabs voted for [Shimon] Peres. A Likud Knesset member [whom Ghanem did not name] told me as much. He said they had no expectations of winning Arab votes, so why should they do anything for the Arabs?"

The government denies these charges wholeheartedly. In a written response contained in the Sikkuy report, Motti Zaken, Arab affairs adviser to the prime minister, contends that "despite the drastic cut of NIS 7 billion in the state budget, the government made sure not to reduce the budgets allocated for the Arab population. While the budget cuts affected [Jewish or mainly Jewish] municipalities, budgets were not cut to local Arab councils."

Zaken says the government's policy is guided by the principle that resources must be provided to the Arab sector for the sake of "closing gaps in the spirit of equality." Despite the budget cuts instituted by the current government, it has spent as much money on building new classrooms in the Arab sector this year as the Peres government spent in its final year in office, Zaken notes. Among the government's other accomplishments, he points out the "Computer for Every

Child" program, which is slated to provide PCs to 20,000 Israeli Arab pupils over the next five years.

Zaken also places part of the blame for conditions on the local Arab municipalities themselves. "The source of some of the problems in the Israeli Arab sector are internal, such as inefficient management by the municipalities, the involvement of local clans in management decisions, and the failure to fulfill agreements on the rotation of local leadership. These factors do not contribute, to say the least, to improving the condition of the Arab population in Israel." However, the report, sponsored in large part by the Abraham Fund, asserts that "overall, during the first year of the present government, the process of closing gaps of inequality and of integration has been brought to a halt in most areas."

The most damaging change, says Ghanem, was the withdrawal of development priority status to Israeli Arab municipalities, which had an across-the-board effect on funding for local improvements.

For instance, Kalansuwa got money from the Housing Ministry two years ago for construction of a new community center, but the funding stopped last year and the center stands uncompleted. Extensive road construction was undertaken in the town by the previous government, but this, too, has stopped, says Kadi, noting that the inactivity of the Housing Ministry is the one area in which Kalansuwa feels a change for the worse under the Netanyahu government.

However, Sikkuy found certain areas in which the current government has made progress in comparison with its predecessor. The Interior Ministry did increase budgets to Arab local authorities by NIS 150 million over a three-year

period. Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon was cited for showing awareness of the need to improve conditions for Negev Beduin. Science Minister Benny Begin, who resigned from the Netanyahu government, was lauded for insisting on hiring more Arab scientists in colleges and universities.

But beyond the Netanyahu government's performance on bread-and-butter issues, it was faulted by Sikkuy for being much less accessible to local Arab officials than the Rabin-Peres administration.

This was a key complaint cited by 25 Arab municipal officials interviewed for the report. "Human relations are important, too," noted Jeraisy.

Here again, though, Zaken takes exception to the findings, noting that government emissaries, himself included, acted as peacemakers in violent clan disputes in such villages as Tuba and Turan.

**'While the NIS 7 billion in budget cuts affected [Jewish or mainly Jewish] municipalities, budgets were not cut to local Arab councils'**

- Motti Zaken, Arab affairs adviser to the prime minister

In Sikkuy's 1996 report, the local Arab officials graded most government ministries "very good" to "medium." In their responses for the current report, "almost all ministries were accorded low marks. The exceptions were the Interior, Education and Labor and Social Affairs ministries," the report found.

Significantly, Sikkuy found that in many critical areas, Israeli Arabs had never received a fair shake - not under the Rabin-Peres government, not under its predecessors, and not under the Netanyahu regime.

For instance, the Religious Affairs Ministry affords Moslems, Christians and Druze 2 percent of its budget, even though these groups make up 19% of Israel's population - a continuation of a historic injustice, according to the report.

Another unsolved matter, Sikkuy notes, is that "in most government ministries in Jerusalem, as well as the president's office,



Deputy Mayor Ibrahim Kadi stands over the flood-control channel built by the Netanyahu government. "On this matter the government has kept its promise. On everything else, it's been a disappointment - just like every other government before," he says. (Jonathan Bloom)

there are no Arab civil servants." "People say things were so good for the Israeli Arabs during the Rabin-Peres government, but it's just a slogan," contends Kadi. "There were some improvements,

but not like people think. Now the current government is building this flood channel, but it should have been built decades ago. [Former prime minister Yitzhak] Shamir came here and promised to help. Rabin and Peres promised to help, but nobody did anything. As far as I'm concerned, every Israeli government has been a disappointment for us."

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MIDDLE ISRAEL

Has it been 50 years?



By AMOTZ ASA-EL

Having been served a scarce bowl of water while roaming the desert with his disciples, Confucius abruptly flipped the dish and let its contents spill onto the arid ground.

British - have been proven wrong. When it was first proposed, in 1937, partition immediately stirred sharp emotions and brought together such unlikely bedfellows as Chief Rabbi Isaac Herzog and fiercely secularist Ze'ev Jabotinsky, or arch-socialist Berl Katznelson and American plutocrat Felix Warburg.

end up in history's dustbin. The Arabs' failure to accept the 1917 Balfour Declaration, which stopped short of granting the Jews a sovereign state, ultimately resulted in the 1937 plan which proposed to give them one.

appeasement a la Neville Chamberlain. However, two generations after our founding fathers' prudent choice to firmly pursue the attainable rather than faintly grasp the illusive, some of us and our interlocutors still fail to fathom the consequences of abandoning that legacy.

neighborhood, which until then was Jerusalem's commercial center. Now a mammoth construction site, sprawling from the Old City's walls to the fringes of the King David Hotel, the area is bound to emerge as a major regional landmark, replete with luxury apartments, first-class hotels, theater complexes, shopping centers, and a glitzy pedestrian mall.



Dry Bones

Union of opposites

SHABBAT SHALOM



By SHLOMO RISKIN

"And Isaac entreated God for his wife, because she was barren..." (Gen. 25:21)

heat and not during the period of cold. What is the Midrash teaching? And what is the significance of the radishes and lettuce?

After many years of barrenness, Mother Rebecca has become pregnant, but her pregnancy causes her great pain: "And the children struggled [lit. ran] within her, and she said: 'If it be so, wherefore do I live?'"

Vegeta'on was so plentiful despite the lack of a downpour that if someone dug out a radish from the ground, he would find water under it (B.T. Bava Metzia 85a).

A VIEW FROM NOV



By MOSHE KOHN

A charitable view of the unremitting Israel-bashing by most of the mass media and other keepers of the cosmic conscience is that it does not stem from an anti-Israel attitude but rather from the perception that the Jews of Eretz Yisrael are now sword-wielding Goliath the bully and our Palestinian Authority (PA) ostensible peace partners are little, slingshot-swinging David the lysist.

'Vanity Fair' and 'the Arafat way'

Binyamin Netanyahu and Yasser Arafat. The magazine gives a rather straightforward outline of Arafat's career. It notes that in 1949 he "was admitted to the University of Texas," but while waiting for a visa changed his mind and decided to study engineering in Cairo.

concise biography of the Israeli prime minister, why aren't we told about the reported sexual escapades of his "Palestinian" opposite number? Furthermore, Netanyahu "has steadfastly rejected a land-for-peace bargain with the Palestinians, the backbone of the Oslo peace accords."

der gangs to commit massacres in civilian concentrations here and abroad, and even today includes turning a blind eye to similar massacres committed by Arabs. It also includes steady support of the Butcher of Baghdad, Saddam Hussein, in his campaign against civilization.

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Continuation of the 'Union of opposites' column, discussing the Midrash on Rebecca's pregnancy and the symbolism of radishes and lettuce.

# Syria first, says Egyptian envoy

Mohammed Bassiouny insists that the Syrian track is more important than any other. The Egyptian ambassador spoke to Jay Bushinsky about the peace process and the Azzam Azzam case



Mohammed Bassiouny: Syria is the linchpin to peace. (David Rubinger)

Egyptian Ambassador Mohammed Bassiouny is not sure whether Azzam Azzam, the Israeli citizen imprisoned in Cairo for espionage, actually worked for the Mossad or any other Israeli intelligence organization, but he is sure that the Druse textile executive was caught carrying material given him by a spy ring operating in Egypt.

The suave envoy, who carefully considers every comment he makes, went a step further in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*.

"Azzam Azzam may not have known exactly what he was carrying when he was arrested. He was tricked by two Israeli women from Nazareth who were in contact with an Egyptian spy for Israel."

He also charged that Azzam lied in court and he contended that the Cairo authorities "have a videotape and a tape recording" that attest to Azzam's involvement in the spy plot.

Bassiouny did not profess to be fully aware of the details in the Azzam case, but he spoke with certainty when the subject shifted to contemporary Mideast diplomacy.

Syria is the linchpin of the Middle East peace process, he said, and only when its claim to the Golan Heights is accommodated will all of the region's other disputes be laid to rest.

Given Bassiouny's experience, his words merit careful consideration. No foreign diplomat based in Israel, and few contemporary Israeli leaders, can match Bassiouny's history of involvement in the various hot and cold

Arab-Israeli wars. This includes an eight-year stint in Damascus, during which he coordinated the simultaneous surprise attack by Syria and Egypt against Israel in October 1973.

It was then that Bassiouny got to know President Hafez Assad, garnering a vivid impression of the man's method of reasoning, which always involves domestic political considerations (he is ever aware that he stems from Islam's minority Alawite denomination) and a reluctance to make crucial and binding decisions.

Relating this to the current situation, Bassiouny hinted that no other aspect of the regional peace process can take precedence over the Israeli-Syrian track. Evidently, it is irrelevant to Assad whether the Palestinian Authority's demands are satisfied by Israel fully, partially or not at all. The bottom line, for Assad, is Syria's territorial claim.

Once it is met, Israel's problems in Lebanon would dissolve. Hizbullah would disintegrate, and the peace treaty with Jordan—which Assad deemed premarriage and contrary to the principle of total Israeli evacuation of territory taken in war—will be accepted by the Jordanian public.

BASSIOUNY RECALLED the

late American peace envoy Philip Habib's attempt to conclude a separate peace between Israel and Lebanon after the 1982 Lebanon War.

"You can't go for a deal in Lebanon while ignoring Syria," he

said. By the same token, he rejected the idea of a unilateral pullback from the security zone in southern Lebanon, only because it would not be based on an agreement with Syria.

"I do believe that to make a long story short, the best policy is to reach an agreement comprising Lebanon and Syria first," he went on. "Those who said that Philip Habib will take care of Syria afterwards were wrong."

Even so, Bassiouny contends that headway in the bilateral negotiations between Israel and the PA is essential in the larger regional context.

"Without solving the Palestinian problem the Arab-Israeli dispute will continue," he said. "If there is no progress, it means the [Arab] peace camp is wrong and the people opposing peace [like Iran, Libya and Sudan] will be in a strong position."

This evaluation was made with a glance towards the Islamic conference due to open in Teheran next month, an event about which Egypt evidently has mixed feelings. The ambassador said that although Egypt will attend, "the level of representation will be determined by President Hosni Mubarak."

The Teheran conclave is center stage, however, in terms of regional and especially American diplomacy.

"That is why the US is pushing hard to achieve progress," he went on. "It wants to shore up the area's stability. This is a common American and European interest."

THE NAGGING feeling that Egypt's attitudes can never be totally discerned persisted throughout Bassiouny's analysis. He conceded that the Cairo government maintains correct diplomatic relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran despite the upsurge of Islamic extremist activity in Egypt.

He did, however, remark that "We are not against the people of Iran," using the word "people," not "regime." "We hope they will join us in the camp of peace and join us in the fight against terror." That was as far as Bassiouny would go on the record, leaving his interviewees hanging with the Hebrew saying, "*Hameivin yavin*" — "He who understands will understand."

HIS ATTITUDE toward Iraq reflects the traditional notion of Arab unity and solidarity. Egypt's consent to join the US in the military coalition that fought President Saddam Hussein's regime in the Gulf War was based exclusively on one factor which does not apply to the current crisis.

"Iraq invaded an Arab country [Kuwait, in 1990]," he said. "We oppose any Arab country violating the territory of any other."

He went on to expand the scope of the United Nations' and the US's concern about Iraq's development and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction, but coupled it with an unmistakable reference to Israel.

"The Egyptian strategy is that the entire area should be cleared of all unconventional weapons," he said. He favors regional arms control, which would bar biological, chemical and nuclear weapons.

Asked about Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov's role in dissipating the tension with Iraq, Bassiouny cited Moscow's status as co-chairman of the Madrid Conference on Middle East peace and welcomed Russia's transformation into an agent of cooperation, in contrast to the former USSR's role as a catalyst for conflict.

Bassiouny minimized the significance of the armed Islamic elements running amok in Egypt, indiscriminately murdering foreign tourists, policemen and others.

"The majority of Egypt's people is religious, but not fanatical," he said. "Egyptians are religious by nature. Cairo is the seat of al-Azhar, Islam's supreme theological institution."

"But these terrorists do not represent Islam. They know nothing about Islam. Islam does not advocate murder. Islam teaches that if you kill innocent people it is as if you killed a whole world."

"They are a very small group. They cannot bring us [the Egyptian government] down. The overwhelming majority of Egyptians know their interpretation of Islam is wrong." When Bassiouny was reminded that these religious extremists assassinated President Anwar Sadat 16 years ago, he paused momentarily, weighed the implications and concluded that the deed did not deter Egypt from the road to peace which it paved, nor did it deter Egypt from moving forward along that road.

What about antisemitic articles and cartoons in the Egyptian press? What about the boycott maintained by Egyptian professional associations against Israel? Bassiouny insisted that these were protests against Israel's policies, not against the concept of peace with Israel.

"The overwhelming majority of Egyptians favor peace and abhor bloodshed," he said. "This was demonstrated by the massive welcome home given Sadat when he returned from his historic peace mission to Jerusalem."

## GRAPEVINE

By GREER FAYUSHMAN



Irish roots: Yitzhak Herzog visits the Herzog family of Dublin's Jewish Museum.

# In his father's footsteps

November, which is a very significant month in contemporary Jewish history, has proved even more so for Tel Aviv lawyer Yitzhak Herzog, who has been attending memorial dedications for his father, Israel's sixth president, Chaim Herzog. Early in the month, he went to Dublin, his father's birthplace, for the dedication at the 407-year-old Trinity College of The Chaim Herzog Center for Jewish and Near Eastern Cultural Studies.

The ceremony coincided with the college's 250th anniversary of teaching Hebrew. The Herzog Center includes documented records of the Herzog family's strong connections with Ireland, as well as the Jacob Weingreen chair of Jewish studies. An Irish Jew, Weingreen was an eminent scholar. Some of Chaim Herzog's boyhood friends, such as Judge Herbert Wine, gave Yitzhak Herzog the warmest of greetings.

The young Herzog met with men who had gone to school with his father at Wesley College; he visited Herzog Park, which was inaugurated in 1996; and the Adelaide Synagogue where his grandfather had given sermons and his father had celebrated his bar mitzva. He also visited the Jewish Museum, inaugurated in 1985 during his father's state visit, and was "delighted to see that it contains a whole wing devoted to the Herzog family."

With oratory in his genes, it was only natural that he should address the Ireland-Israel Chamber of Commerce. In this and other addresses, he noted that November 1917 had witnessed both the Balfour Declaration and the first steps in Ireland of a young rabbi named Isaac Herzog. Now, his grandson, a citizen of the sovereign state of Israel, was speaking to people who had been in audiences addressed by both Isaac and Chaim Herzog.

Before leaving Dublin, the younger Herzog went to Bloomfield Avenue, the site of the Herzog family home, which has been purchased by Paul Gillespie, editor of *The Irish Times* and his wife, Deirdre, who had been in correspondence with Chaim Herzog and were delighted to host his son. This week, Yitzhak Herzog, together with members of his family, was in Kfar Sava for the dedication of the Chaim Herzog High School.

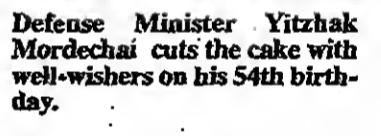
"I UNDERSTAND that Yehoshua didn't help you. He was too busy with the primaries," quipped Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani to Rachel Matza, chairperson of the Jerusalem Friends of Yad Beyad at the organization's annual gala dinner dance at the Hyatt Regency Hotel to raise money for homes for economically disadvantaged children. Speaking only partially in jest, Kahalani said that he comes to Jerusalem every day but is never quite sure whether he still has a job. The function, under the patronage of Greek Ambassador Sotirios Varouxakis, had a distinct Greek flavor to it. The ouzo oo the tables eased merrymakers into the mood for Greek dancing to music by Theodorakis. Varouxakis led Yad Beyad founder Shelly Hoshen and Tikva Mizrahi, head of the Jerusalem branch of Yad Beyad, in a spirited dance after which, at her request, he taught the steps to Dahlia Kahalani.

Varouxakis, who had to fly to Greece the next morning, didn't stay till the end, so he missed out on Zabava Ben, who came at the waning hour and sang well into the wee small hours.

WHEN Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai received an invitation from the Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality to be the guest of honor at Gan Oranin at the 42nd annual gathering of armored corps officers and veterans, he didn't realize that the occasion would also be a surprise party to celebrate his 54th birth-

emotional experience. After the formalities, guests feasted on a book-shaped cake, literally gobbling up the volume.

IT'S wedding bells for *Men in Black* star Will Smith, 29, and Jada Pinkett, 26. The couple, who are expecting their first child, have announced plans to wed before the year is out. It will be the first time around for her, Smith, who is divorced, has a five-year-old son from his previous marriage.



Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai cuts the cake with well-wishers on his 54th birthday.

Dayan, and took the opportunity to entertain local Jews with some of his cantorial repertoire.

YOUNG admirers and old friends swarmed around former MK Marcia Freedman at the coalition of women's organizations protest demonstration and march on International Day Against Violence Against Women. Freedman, who two decades ago was instrumental in setting up the country's first shelter for battered women in Haifa, and had passionately advocated for free abortions, now divides her time between Jerusalem and Berkeley. Debbie Gross, director of the Crisis Center for Religious Women, also participated in the march, as did a few boys from Bnei Akiva. The most practical marchers were the WIZO women, whose slogans were emblazoned on umbrellas which protected them from the occasional drops of rain.

ISRAEL'S ambassador to Egypt, Zvi Mazel, and his wife, Michelle, this week attended the inauguration of a library in the compound of Cairo's famed Ben-Ezra Synagogue. The project, under the auspices of the local Jewish community, was funded by the Israeli Academic Center. Several Egyptian dignitaries attended, including representatives of the Foreign Ministry and the Antiquities Department. Also present were Canadian ambassador to Egypt, Michael Bell, some junior diplomats from the US embassy, a few American Jewish students, and 30 senior members of Cairo Jewry for whom the establishment of the library was a visibly emotional experience. After the formalities, guests feasted on a book-shaped cake, literally gobbling up the volume.



Moshe Leon (Ariel Herzog's son)

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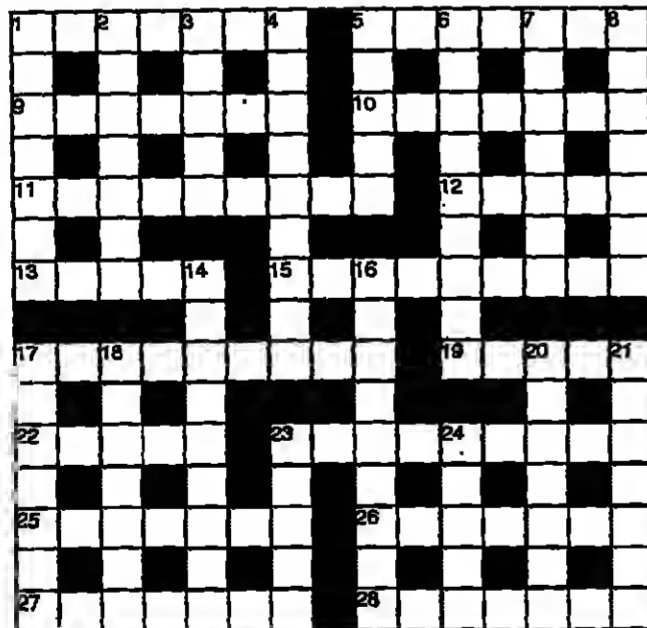
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## CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

### ACROSS

- 1 He takes stock (7)
- 5 Topping Persian fairy to scold (7)
- 9 Sessions of drinks around North Dakota (7)
- 10 A paper pattern length for dress (7)
- 11 Indolent workers Satan finds mischief for (4,5)
- 12 Opted to have many pairs of stockings (5)
- 13 To pronounce about craft is impertinent (5)
- 15 Its team members are not allowed to play in the penalty-box (3,6)
- 17 Invert sugar added to a spring vegetable (9)
- 19 An area of low rainfall is in a bad state (5)



- 22 Is about to study pictures (5)
- 23 Harry goes after dollar dog (9)
- 25 Instrument for aria NCO arranged (7)
- 26 Former prince taking a provinces (7)
- 27 Plainly smart about status (7)
- 28 Gossips with stories about island race (7)

### DOWN

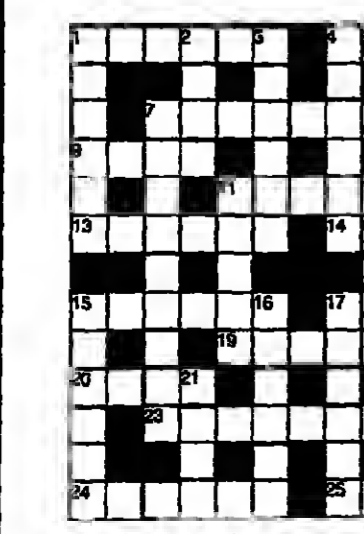
- 1 Trying members of the courts (7)
- 2 Tickets for a Wimbledon match maybe (7)
- 3 General chief physician of old (5)
- 4 Being displeased about note sent, telephone (9)

- 5 Rings friends—there's point in that (5)
- 6 Strike a number with debts as extortionate (9)
- 7 A wizard music man! (7)
- 8 Balcyny Rex installed in main kitchen (7)
- 14 Benchmark which is to the credit of detectives (9)
- 16 Where Great Yarmouth is teas out a bomb (4,5)
- 17 Not quite all there? That's rather unfair (1,3,3)
- 18 Sailor about in Malayan boat is well-proportioned (3,4)
- 20 Indifferent car is not in gear (7)
- 21 They come from the north and south of the country (7)
- 23 Alert enough to live for a day out (5)
- 24 Custom-wear? (5)

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DOWN: 1 Salute, 2 Italy, 3 Else, 5 Overboard, 6 Quality, 7 Swains, 8 Stack, 15 Opulence, 16 Achieve, 17 Mousse, 18 Habit, 19 Demure, 22 Drive, 23 Gasp.



### QUICK CROSSWORD

- ACROSS
- 1 Church official (6)
- 4 Supports (6)
- 7 Extras (9)
- 9 Falling (4)
- 10 Moist (4)
- 11 At no time (5)
- 13 Linger (6)
- 14 Lecturer (6)
- 15 Dismal (6)
- 17 — up, have the low-down (6)
- 19 Female oracle (5)
- 20 Somerset city (4)
- 22 Only time (4)
- 23 Presuming (9)
- 24 Pass (5)
- 25 Distress call (6)

- DOWN
- 1 Rubbish (6)
- 2 Yield (4)
- 3 Fixer? (6)
- 4 Tiny slice (6)
- 5 Crust (4)
- 6 Late meal (6)
- 7 Mishaps (9)
- 8 Making one miserable (9)
- 11 Closes (5)
- 12 Put off (5)
- 15 Do, in a trifling way (5)
- 16 Hourah! (6)
- 17 Plaster (6)
- 18 Dishy! (6)
- 21 A camel has one (4)
- 22 Sole (4)

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CNE Express Track (7 courses)	26	159	Mon. & Wed. 10 a.m. - 5 p.m.	Mar. 9	Tue. & Thur. 12:00 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Jan. 6
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Jerusalem	Tue., Dec. 9 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Thur., Dec. 11 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Thur., Dec. 11 1-5 p.m.	Tue., Dec. 9 5-9 p.m.	Tue., Dec. 9 1-5 p.m.	Fri., Dec. 12 9 a.m. - 1 p.m.	Sun., Dec. 11 5-9 p.m.

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# Davis Cup arouses national passions

By CLARE LOWELL

LONDON (Reuters) - In a world where prize money, ranking points and sponsorship deals are the currency of tennis, the Davis Cup retains the uncomplicated magic of the amateur era.

Players hardened by years on the dog-eat-dog professional circuit can still break down in tears when recalling victories that wedded individual ambition to the demands of their nation.

Critics say the tournament dislocates the tennis calendar and the four rounds done through the year increase the pressure on top players like Pete Sampras.

But to those who have savoured the delight of winning the Davis Cup, it is quite unlike any other experience in a sport founded on individuality verging on obsession.

Take last year's final, for instance. Stefan Edberg was playing his last tournament. He twisted his ankle and had to be replaced by Nicklas Kulti for the fourth and deciding singles against France.

Frenchman Arnaud Boetsch saved three match points against Kulti before winning 10-8 in the final set. It was the first time since the Davis Cup began in 1900 that the deciding match of the final had gone to five sets.

Edberg, comforting the tearful Kulti, said it was "the best tennis that can ever happen." The final ended with French captain Yannick

Noah carrying Edberg around the stadium on his shoulders.

"We were in the middle of something special, another dimension," Noah said later. "I feel very privileged that I was there to experience it."

Such a scenario is unlikely to be repeated at this year's final between the US and Sweden, but the French seem to reserve their best form and highest emotions for the Davis Cup.

When Henri Cochet hit the winning shot to bring France their first Davis Cup in 1927 his wife swooned at the side of the court.

News of the victory in Philadelphia over the mighty Americans brought Parisians on to the streets in a frenzy of dancing, singing and celebration.

Much the same happened in 1991 when France won the trophy after a gap of 59 years and against all the odds by beating the United States in Lyon.

Players wept, Noah led supporters around the court in an ecstatic conga and France erupted in an orgy of joy and congratulation. Even the normally phlegmatic Swedes can get excited.

Bjorn Borg was flung repeatedly into the air after he led Sweden to their first win in 1975. The country then turned tennis mad.

In his "Story of the Davis Cup," Australian tennis writer Alan Trengrove tells how the normally cool Arthur Ashe, then US captain, broke down while speaking at a Davis Cup celebration dinner in 1981 as he reminisced about his experiences in the competition.

Ashe said the highlight of his career was not becoming the first black man to win Wimbledon but helping to lift the Davis Cup in 1968.

It was not as if an American triumph was in any way unusual. The United States won the first competition in 1900 and have taken home the trophy 30 times since.

Australia have won it 26 times with Britain way back in third place on nine. The Davis Cup has undergone many revisions, most notably in 1973 when the competition was belatedly opened to professionals and in 1981 when prize money was introduced.

It has survived pauses during two world wars and countless political crises. During the 1970s the inclusion of apartheid South Africa provoked violent demonstrations and several walkouts culminating in India refusing to play the 1974 final and allowing South Africa a walkover victory. South Africa was eventually barred between 1978 and 1992.

The Cup has also survived all manner of gamesmanship, particularly where choice of surface is concerned, crowd violence, player histrionics and fights on court. In 1996 Austria's Thomas Muster stalked off court in Brazil saying he would not put up with the crowd's abuse. Austria forfeited the tie.

At the 1914 final Australians were horrified at the partisan behaviour of the US crowd who flung bottles across the court, yelled abuse at officials who judged points

in the visitors' favour and applauded every Australian mistake. The Australians still won the Cup.

Paraguay ties also have a reputation for being lively. In 1985 during matches against France spectators constantly interrupted obscure gestures at players, fights broke out and a French journalist was knocked unconscious.

But the tie was completed with Paraguay the victors and rules concerning disruptions were tightened the following year. Players' antics can on occasion be more disruptive than the crowd's. John McEnroe, a passionate supporter of the Davis Cup, was nevertheless, no better behaved playing for his country than on the tour.

He was always arguing with opponents and officials and even with his own captain. Ashe, who told him during a particularly bad-tempered semifinal in 1981 that he would concede the tie rather than have the referee disqualify a US player.

The entertaining but notoriously irascible tie Nastase was disqualified after attempting to thump Britain's David Lloyd over the head with his racket during a tie in Bucharest in 1977.

Trengrove cites Nastase as one of the players who found the responsibility of Davis Cup a huge strain, particularly at home.

"You want to win so much for the people that every shot you miss is like an arrow straight to your heart," he said.

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#### VEHICLES

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Remember adds:

Industry and Trade Minister Natan Sharansky said yesterday he would support Netanyahu's proposal for a troop pullback in the West Bank in a cabinet vote under certain conditions.

### FUNDS

By BEVERLEE BLACK

I think the person who said, "There are lies, damned lies and statistics," must have been reading the latest report on poverty in Israel.

Officials who patted themselves on the back as a result of the minuscule drop in the numbers below the poverty line this year are misreading the reality.

The arbitrary income of NIS 3,357 for a family of four, to decide that they are below the poverty line, begs the question. Look at it this way. If a family of four had an income of NIS 3,500 to last out the month for rent, gas, electricity, water, arnona, as well as food, clothing, school expenses etc., aren't they living in poverty?

So with all due respect to the officials, they should read the many requests coming across my desk for help, and they might revise their statistics.

According to the official report, 693,000 people lived in poverty last year and of these, 301,000 were children. These figures illustrate the enormity of the problem. What a drain it is on our society not only because of all the effort that is needed to pull these people out of the mud, but the country is only charging on three cylinders if nearly 20% of the population are not contributing very much to the national effort.

### PM

Continued from Page 1

Asked whether he includes the Palestinian refugees in his peace package, Netanyahu said their problem should be solved by the PA. He ruled out a mass repatriation to Israel, contending that there is a consensus against this that encompasses the entire domestic political spectrum.

"Anyone who thinks there are advocates of the 1948 refugees' return is wrong," he said.

"The PA should rehabilitate the refugees just as Jordan did," he said. However, he warned that a massive influx of refugees to the autonomous areas would cause "irredentist pressure" on Israel.

He said there were 600,000 Arabs who fled Israel in 1948, most of them hoping to return following Israel's anticipated defeat. Since then, he charged, the Arab states preserved the refugee problem instead of using their vast oil revenues to resolve it. "I am confident in this arrangement," he said. "If there is goodwill on both sides it can be achieved."

Netanyahu dismissed a question about the tensions with the US.

"Since 1967, there has been disagreement between us with regard to the shape of peace," he said. He cited the Rogers Plan, the Brookings Plan and the Reagan Plan, each of which called for troop withdrawals from areas taken in the Six-Day War.

"There is a commonality of interests between us, but not in every aspect," he said.

He accused the PA of failing to fulfill the commitments it undertook in the Hebron Agreement earlier this year. "It did not revise the Palestine Liberation Organization's charter" by expunging anti-Israel and anti-Zionist articles; did not extradite suspects arrested for acts of terrorism in Israel; did not stop terrorist activity and did not foster peace and reconciliation between the two nations, he charged.

Mordechai also believes the debate on Lebanon was legitimate, but he urged the public not to drag the military into it.

Shahak said he feared that if the opinions of senior commanders continue to be leaked, officers would stop expressing their views in closed operational discussions.

"It is not right for politicians to use IDF officers and it is not right for army officers to speak their opinions in improper forums. Opinions are for closed forums," Shahak said.

Batsheva Tsav adds:

The discussion on the future role of the IDF in Lebanon should be kept within the ranks of the army

### FUNDS

Okay, I've had my say for the week. Now it's up to you to help do something about it.

I have a long list of requests for blankets, heaters, dental work and hearing-aids for our senior citizens, as well as winter jackets, boots, etc., for youngsters and - dare I say it in 1997 - food for hungry families.

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Joe Hoffman & Ori Lewis

**Israel hoopsters face Ukraine tomorrow**

By BRIAN FREEMAN

The national basketball team brings its act on the road tomorrow night against Ukraine in Game 2 of the qualifying round for the 1999 European Championships.

Israel is coming off an impressive 95-64 opening victory over Belarus on Wednesday in which every man on the team gave his all, playing suffocating defense and finding an open teammate for an easy score on offense.

Ukraine, which fell to 0-1 in the 10-game preliminary round with an 83-66 loss at home to group favorites Spain, should be a tougher challenge for the Israelis.

The Ukrainians finished a respectable 13th in the European Championships which concluded this past summer, its highest placing so far since breaking away from the Soviet Union.

The other contests in the group tomorrow will pit Spain against hosts England and Belarus on the road against Denmark.

Israel will also take on Denmark next Wednesday.

The first two teams in each of the five six-team groups advance to the finals in France in 1999 along with the four best third-placed clubs. The hosts and defending champions Yugoslavia earn an automatic berth in the Final 16.

**Cruyff in hospital, has heart complaint**

AMSTERDAM (Reuters) - Johan Cruyff was in a stable condition in an Amsterdam hospital yesterday after being admitted 24 hours earlier with a heart complaint.

The Vrije Universiteit Hospital said Cruyff, 50, had been admitted to the cardiac unit.

A statement said he was doing well, was in a stable condition and would remain in hospital for further observation.

Cruyff, sacked by Barcelona in 1996, had double by-pass heart surgery in 1991. He returned to the Netherlands, commenting occasionally on major games.

# Manchester United qualify for Champions League quarterfinals

MANCHESTER (AP) - Manchester United cruised into the European Champions Cup quarterfinals last night following a 3-0 victory over Slovakia's FC Kosice in front of 55,000 at Old Trafford.

Needing only a point against a team which had not even gained one in four matches, United made sure of all three with a match to spare. A strike by Andy Cole just before half-time was followed by an own goal by Kosice substitute Lubomir Faktor five minutes from the end, and Teddy Sheringham bent a 25-meter shot into the net for the third in injury time.

The result gave United a maximum 15 points from five matches and Kosice remained last in Group B with none. United visit Juventus in the final group match on December 10 with the Italian club in danger of going out.

Dynamo Kiev 1, PSV Eindhoven 1

Dynamo Kiev secured a place in the quarter-finals with a 1-1 group C draw against PSV Eindhoven.

Dynamo's Serhiy Rebrov gave the home side the perfect start in the 19th minute, slotting home a brilliant cutback from strike partner Andriy Shevchenko.

The second half was more evenly balanced, and the unmarked Gilles De Bilde levelled in the 65th minute when he caught the defence napping, bringing down a looping cross well with his chest before slotting the ball home.

Shortly before PSV coach Dick Advocaat, despairing of the win his side needed to keep their hopes alive, was ordered to leave the touchline by the referee for shouting abuse to his players. He stormed off into the stands.

Borussia Dortmund 4, Galatasaray 1

European champions Borussia Dortmund made sure of a place in the quarter-finals by crushing Turkish side Galatasaray 4-1 at home.

Dortmund lead group A with 12 points - four more than second placed Parma of Italy.

Young Russian midfielder Vladimir But put Dortmund 1-



Manchester United's Nicky Butt (left) is tackled by FC Kosice's Vladislav Zvara during United's 3-0 win at Old Trafford last night.

front from close range in the 22nd minute and striker Heiko Herrlich made it 2-0 with a header 12 minutes later.

Substitute Michael Zorc, who had only just come in for playmaker Andreas Moeller, added a third two minutes into the second half and made it 4-0 from the penalty spot in the 86th minute.

Attacking midfielder Ergun Penbe reduced the arrears for the visitors in the next minute.

Parma 2, Sparta Prague 2

In Parma, the home side scram-

bled a 2-2 draw against Sparta Prague after three goals in a dramatic final three minutes turned their group A match on its head.

Parma had appeared to be cruising to victory thanks to a first half strike from Enrico Chiesa but Sparta equalized through Jiri Novotny with the match already in extra time.

The Czechs stunned the home crowd with another goal seconds later from second half substitute Josef Obajdlo.

Then, in the 95th minute of

time actually played, Maniero was tugged down in the box and Chiesa coovered the resulting penalty to keep alive Parma's albeit fading hopes of a place in the European Cup quarter-finals.

Rosenborg 2, Real Madrid 0

In Trondheim, northern Norway, Rosenborg upset Real Madrid 2-0 in their Group D match in bone-chilling temperatures.

Roar Strand gave the Norwegian champions a 1-0 lead with a diving header against the run of play in the 42nd minute as

Real Madrid sliethered on a pitch icky from a heavy frost in temperatures of minus eight celsius.

Harald Brattbakk made it 2-0 early in the second half, delighting the 19,000 crowd in his last game in the Lerkendal stadium before a planned transfer to Celtic.

The result left the two teams level on 10 points at the top of group D with one game left and avenged a 4-1 defeat for Rosenborg in Madrid two months ago.

Real Madrid were unlucky not to score. Fernando Hierro hit the post from a free kick and Fernando Morientes hit the crossbar.

**Champions League results last night:**

Group A: Parma 2; Sparta Prague 2; Borussia Dortmund 4; Galatasaray 1

Group B: Manchester United 3; Kosice 0

Group C: Dynamo Kiev 1; PSV Eindhoven 1

Group D: Rosenborg 2; Real Madrid 0; Porto 2; Olympiakos 1.

## Chang plays Bjorkman, Sampras faces Larsson on opening day of US-Sweden Davis Cup final

GOTHENBURG (AP) - Pete Sampras and Michael Chang have a combined career singles record of 9-4 against the Swedish opponents they face on the opening day of the Davis Cup final.

But there are some trends that could worry the Americans.

Jonas Bjorkman beat Chang in straight sets the last time they played and Magnus Larsson is the only player to have beaten Sampras twice this year.

"He's beaten me before, he's confident," said Sampras, who lost the last

two encounters against Larsson, ranked No. 25 in the world. Sampras leads 6-3.

"He's played me tough, not only this year," Sampras said.

"He's an awkward player, lanky, not an easy guy to play." "He serves quite big and backs it up with big groundstrokes (ground strokes). He's very talented. He moves well. He's confident, he's beat me before.

"But I feel like I'm playing well. I just need to go out and do it," Sampras said after Thursday's draw for the best-of-five tie.

Sampras comes here after clinching the ATP Tour World Championship for the fourth time, collecting eight titles this year (including Wimbledon and the Australian Open) and making sure of finishing as No. 1 in the world for the fifth year in a row.

The Americans have been practicing on the fast indoor carpet of the 11,000-seat Scandinavium hall since the weekend.

Chang, whose match against Bjorkman will open the three-day tie, has had a disappointing indoor season.

this fall with a 1-5 record and he lost 6-4, 7-5 to Bjorkman at the ATP championship in Hannover earlier this month. It was Chang's first defeat against Bjorkman in four encounters.

"I think I was able to learn a little bit from that match," Chang said. "It's a whole new situation, a whole new ball game."

I'm hoping to be able to turn things around here in Sweden." For tomorrow's doubles, Todd Martin and Jonathan Stark were nominated for the Americans, while Bjorkman and

Nicklas Kulti make up the Swedish pair. The doubles teams can be changed, however, up to one hour before the start of the match. The fourth player on the Swedish team is Thomas Enqvist.

The reverse singles are scheduled for Sunday.

Sweden's hopes hinge on Bjorkman beating both Chang and Sampras and picking up a potentially decisive point in the doubles. Sweden has never won the title without winning the doubles.

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**Harazi: I'm leaving Salamanca**

By ORI LEWIS

Israel international striker Ronnen Harazi has lost his patience with Spanish club Salamanca and yesterday announced his intention to leave the club as soon as possible.

Harazi, Israel's leading goal scorer among active players, was sold to the Spanish first division club by Bezar Jerusalem at the beginning of the current season, but has failed to command a place in the team's starting lineup. Indeed, he has seen almost no league action at all since arriving on the Iberian peninsula.

"It's perfectly clear to me that I will not continue here," a frustrated Harazi told Israel Radio yesterday. "If I haven't been allowed to play when the club has only scored five goals in its last 13 matches then when can I expect to play, when will we start scoring?" Harazi asked the interviewer sarcastically.

A FIFA arbitration panel last week set Harazi's sale price at \$1.5 million after Salamanca and Bezar failed to reach agreement over the price of the player. So far, however, the Spaniards have seen no return at all on their investment.

Harazi held a press conference on Wednesday in which he said wanted to clear up misinterpretations which he claims both the Spanish and Israeli media have built up around his predicament. "There is nothing wrong with me or with my form, indeed, I am in exactly in the same shape as I was when I arrived here at the beginning of the season. "One thing is clear, it will be easy for me to find a club when I am based here (as opposed to Israel)," Harazi said.

On the home front, there will not be any National League and Second Division action this weekend as both divisions are taking the weekend to play a round of Toto Cup games.

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**ENGLISH SOCCER** - Results of matches played on Wednesday night. Premier League: Chelsea 2, Everton 0. Division One: Middlesbrough 0, Nottingham Forest 0. Division Three: Chester 2, Swanssea 0. FA Cup, first round, replay: Solihull 3, Darlington 3, (after extra time, Darlington won 4-2 on penalties).